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PENSÉES POUR UN ANNIVERSAIRE*

MARIN CONSTANTIN¹

Cette année, l'*Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* – la publication en langues étrangères de l'Institut d'Anthropologie « Francisc Rainer » de l'Académie Roumaine – fête son cinquantième anniversaire! Avant toute autre interprétation de tel beau jubilé, il convient peut-être de remarquer la réussite thématique d'une revue roumaine simultanément dédiée – de 1964 à nos jours – à trois domaines cruciaux de la « science de l'homme », à savoir la paléanthropologie (aussi désignée *anthropologie historique* dans la revue), l'anthropologie physique (alternativement appelée *anthropologie contemporaine*, *anthropologie appliquée*, *anthropologie [bio] médicale* et *anthropologie génétique*) et, enfin, l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale. Je dis « réussite thématique » en raison d'un projet – plutôt implicite dans la succession des générations de chercheurs contributeurs – de maintenir leur intérêt pour une approche anthropologique sinon « totale », en tout cas – constamment ouverte vers le polymorphisme du comportement humain.

La fondation de l'*Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* en 1964 fut accompagnée par un autre événement inaugural au cadre de notre institution, c'est-à-dire l'établissement (grâce à la décision de l'Académie Roumaine) d'un premier département national d'« anthropologie sociale, démographique et culturelle ». Depuis 1964, l'anthropologie culturelle allait représenter (presque sans interruption) l'une des principales coordonnées de la table de matière de notre revue. Sans aucune intention d'y suggérer une interdépendance absolue entre la destinée scientifique de l'*Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* et la branche culturaliste de l'anthropologie, nous pourrions probablement nous mettre d'accord sur (et célébrer comme tel) l'anniversaire semi-centenaire que notre revue et la nouvelle discipline anthropologique vivent à présent en Roumanie.

Alors qu'il n'est pas possible (*hic et nunc*) d'entreprendre une analyse extensive de ce que des auteurs roumains et étrangers – en tant que paléanthropologues, bio-anthropologues, ou ethnologues – élaborèrent pour notre publication, leurs lieux de réflexion théorique et méthodologique apparaissent avoir été régulièrement basés sur le travail de terrain et les études monographiques de cas.

* Mon texte est rédigé à l'intention d'une brève rétrospective bibliographique de l'*Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* pendant les 50 ans de sa parution (1964-2013) à la Maison d'Édition de l'Académie Roumaine. Les références de cette évocation peuvent être trouvées et approfondies – selon les années mentionnées pour les auteurs cités – dans l'archive électronique de notre revue (voir www.antropologia.ro/annuaire.antropologia.ro)

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En effet, la lecture rétrospective des numéros de l'*Annuaire* fait la preuve de divers et nombreux emplacements ruraux et urbains des enquêtes anthropologiques en Roumanie, qu'il s'agisse soit de chantiers archéologiques², soit d'échantillonnages de biologie populationnelle³, soit enfin d'investigations démographiques et ethnographiques⁴. Bien que notre revue ait été concentrée sur des recherches sur les groupes roumains de population, l'*Annuaire* reçut aussi des contributions concernant les minorités nationales de Roumanie et les communautés appartenant à d'autres cultures, au-delà des frontières de l'État roumain⁵. Ce fut bien cette confiance accordée aux fondements observationnels de la théorisation qui par ailleurs soutint la publication dans notre revue des études sur le plan de la conceptualisation et la méthodologie anthropologiques⁶.

Sans insister sur ce que, d'une manière didactique, il est souvent énoncée par « la complexité de l'anthropologie et de son objet d'étude », on peut toujours contempler la multitude des aspects qui, au fil des années, furent explorés dans les pages de l'*Annuaire* sous le rapport paléoanthropologique, bio-anthropologique et ethnologique / socio-anthropologique.

Les paléoanthropologues (ou ceux qui signèrent, au cours du temps, sous une telle dénomination de leurs profession) ont dirigé leur attention sur des sites néolithiques, antiques ou médiévaux, à la recherche de traits ostéologiques ou anatomiques⁷, démographiques⁸, médicaux⁹, rituels¹⁰, militaires¹¹, zoo-archéologiques

² D. Nicolăescu-Plopșor, Popovici sur les tombes d'inhumation de Boian-Vărăști, Călărași (1967), N. Mirițoiu sur la nécropole de Poieniști-Vaslui (1992), A.D. Soficaru sur la *Basilica D* de Tropaeum Traiani – Constanța (2006-2007), etc.

³ H. Dumitrescu et al. sur le village de Rogova-Mehedinți (1965), M. Vlădescu, C. Glavce sur le village de Maieru, Bistrița-Năsăud (1977), M. Istrate et al. sur les villages de Fărăoani et Prăjești, Bacău (2000), etc.

⁴ V. V. Caramelia et V. Apostolescu sur la socio-démographie de la région de Bicaz-Neamț (1965), T. Herseni sur les ouvriers des mines de Berivoiești-Argeș (1968), Gh. Geană sur la parenté chez les Roumains, avec référence au village de Izvoru-Argeș (1978), etc.

⁵ M. Vlădescu sur les villageois Bulgares de Izvoarele, Calomfirești et Licuriciu, Teleorman (1973), S. Beroniade et al. sur les Rudars des villages de Români de Sus et Vaideeni, Vâlcea (1974), C. Glavce sur la variabilité de constitution corporelle chez la population féminine de Mozambique (1985), L' Măntescu sur la « néo-ruralité » en Bretagne, M. Florescu sur la pratique ethnographique en Angola (2012).

⁶ Voir Șt. Milcu sur la « méthode complexe de recherche en anthropologie », comme un ensemble d'investigations biologiques, médicales, démographiques, sociologiques, écologiques et historiques (1965), H. H. Stahl sur l'interdisciplinarité de la sociologie et l'anthropologie sociale (1971), V. V. Caramelia sur « le système intégraliste-dynamique » dans l'anthropologie culturelle de Roumanie (1973), etc.

⁷ O. Necrasov sur le site de Doboșeni-Harghita (1964), O. Necrasov, D. Botezatu sur le site de Ostrovu Corbului-Mehedinți (1981), N. Mirițoiu et A. Soficaru sur les sites de Poieniști-Vaslui et Vărăști-Călărași (2002), M. Szelekovszky, A. Marcsik sur le site de Berettyóújfalú-Nagy Bócs-dűlő, Hungary (2010), etc.

⁸ O. Necrasov et al. sur le site de Cernica-Bucarest (1979), O. Necrasov et al. sur le site de Cernavodă-Constanța (1982), D. Botezatu et al. sur le site de Valea Seacă-Bârlad (1983), etc.

⁹ I. Popovici sur les sites de Bucov-Prahova, Cuhnea et Giulești – Maramureș, Radovanu-Călărași, Sânnicolau de Beiuș – Bihor et Străulești-Bucarest, (1976), N. Mirițoiu sur les sites de Poieniști-Vaslui (1992), Zs. Csóri et al. sur le site de Hajdúdorog-Szállásföldek, Hungary (2009), etc.

¹⁰ W. Wolski et D. Nicolaescu-Plopșor sur le site de Mărgăritești-Olt (1972), M. Nica et D. Nicolaescu-Plopșor sur le site de Cârcea-Craiova (1975), M. Perianu sur les sites de Cotârgaci-Botoșani, Vânători-Galați, Căscioarele-Călărași et Ampoița-Alba (1991), etc.

¹¹ D. Nicolaescu-Plopșor sur le site de Schela Cladovei-Mehedinți (1976), A. Soficaru sur le site de Tropaeum Traiani – Constanța (2005), etc.

ou « paléo-faunistiques »¹², etc. (Pour d'autres détails sur les contributions de paléanthropologie ou d'anthropologie historique dans le contenu de notre revue, voir la suivante Editorial Note: Alexandra Ion, « Osteoarcheological studies in the history of the *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* journal »).

À leur tour, les anthropologues physiques ont développé un riche répertoire thématique¹³ en termes de « caractères anthropologiques » (anthropométriques, morphologiques, pigmentaires, biochimiques, physiologiques, dermatoglyphiques, génétiques, médicaux etc.)¹⁴, « structure de la population »¹⁵, « l'ontogenèse » (voire le développement biologique individuel)¹⁶, « l'hérédité et la variabilité populationnelle phénotypique et/ou génotypique »¹⁷, « l'état de santé ou/et la maladie dans une vision populationnelle »¹⁸, « l'adaptabilité humaine – écologique, occupationnelle... »¹⁹...

Quant aux eux, les anthropologues culturels ont poursuivi une agenda de recherche centrée d'abord (1966-1978) sur les « stations-pilote » de Berivoiești et Câmpulung-Muscel²⁰, de même qu'ils ont parfois examiné – avec des outils démographiques ou philologiques – d'autres locations ethnographiques (comme Bicaz et Bran²¹) ou se sont engagés (1976-1992) dans l'ambitieux projet d'un « atlas des valeurs du peuple roumain »²². En même temps, les ethnologues / socio-

¹² A. Bolomey sur le site de Histria – Constanța (1965), O. Necrasov et M. Știrbu sur les sites de Gura Baciului – Cluj, Traian-Dealul Fântânilor – Neamț, Valea Lupului – Iași, Glăvăneștii Vechi – Iași, Pogorăști – Iași, Balș – Iași, Trestiana (Vaslui), Techirghiol – Constanța et Liubcova – Caraș-Severin (1978), M. Șt. Udrescu sur le site de Stolniceni-Vâlcea (1990), etc.

¹³ Nous bénéficions de la classification des domaines d'investigation physico-anthropologique de même que des indications bibliographiques pour notre présentation par Dr. Eleonora Luca (éditeur bio-anthropologue de l'*Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*).

¹⁴ Voir pour les caractères physiologiques: Necrasov et al. sur les régions de Jassy et des Dorna (1966), biochimiques: M. Cristescu et al. sur les villages de C.A. Rosetti, Letea et Chilia Veche, Tulcea (1976), E. Radu et al. sur le Couloir de Caransebeș, Caraș-Severin (2002), morphologie céphalo-faciale: M. Vlădescu sur le village de Moeciu de Sus, Brașov (1970), dermatoglyphes: M.F. Pospíšil, C. Vulpe sur le village de Moeciu de Sus, Brașov (1970), etc.

¹⁵ S. Grințescu Pop et al. sur le village de Moeciu de Sus, Brașov (1970), M. Vlădescu 1990 sur le village de Sălciua-Alba (1990), E. Luca sur le village de Novaci-Gorj (1990), etc.

¹⁶ Th. Enăchescu et al. sur Bucarest et le région de Bucarest (1973), D. Cîrică, C. Glavce sur un échantillon de Bucarest (1999), M. Știrbu et al. sur un échantillon de Jassy (2004), etc.

¹⁷ I. Popovici-Bădărau, M. Vlădescu sur la population de Bihor (1981), F. Raicu sur la population de la région de Neamț (2000), J. Klein et al. sur des groupes de population de Bulgarie, de Macédoine et de Serbie (2012), etc.

¹⁸ A. Țarcă (2001) et M. Istrate (2001) sur des groupes de population de Moldavie, T. Pavlica sur des populations de Vojvodina, Serbie (2010), etc.

¹⁹ S. Grințescu-Pop, Th. Enăchescu sur les villages de Șimon et Moeciu de Sus, Brașov (1967), E. Radu, E. Morar sur des entreprises de Bucarest (1990), etc.

²⁰ V. V. Caramelia sur les « stations-pilote » de recherches anthropologiques de Berivoiești-Argeș (1970) et de Câmpulung-Muscel (Argeș)(1973), etc.

²¹ V. V. Caramelia et V. Apostolescu sur la dislocation de population dans la region de Bicaz-Neamț (1965); L. Mărcuș et V. Săhleanu sur l'anthroponymie de la zone Bran-Brașov (1973).

²² E. P. Banks, V. V. Caramelia sur les *value orientations* dans le département d'Argeș (1976), Georgeta Marghescu-Ploșteanu et al. sur « la diversité axiologique » dans les régions de Muntenie et

anthropologues voulurent évoluer vers des horizons d'investigation moins intégrées dans un program collectif de travail, réfléchissant des choix d'étude individualisée, comme la communication dans le langage parlé²³, la terminologie parentale roumaine²⁴, le pastoralisme²⁵, « la dynamique socioculturelle en transition »²⁶, ou le travail dans les compagnies multinationales post-socialistes²⁷. Un aspect également révélateur pour le développement de la discipline en Roumanie fut l'introduction de l'anthropologie culturelle dans l'enseignement supérieur, à la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université de Bucarest; deux programs de cours apparurent en effet dans l'*Annuaire*²⁸. Après 2009, des numéros spéciaux furent édités sur des thèmes comme la propriété privée en post-socialisme²⁹ et la marginalisation sociale contemporaine³⁰. (Pour plus d'information sur le devenir de l'anthropologie culturelle durant le demi-siècle de son existence institutionnelle en Roumanie, voir dans ce numéro « An adequate illustration of Thomas Kuhn's theory about the changing of paradigm in science. 50 years since the institutionalization of cultural anthropology in Romania » *An interview with Professor Gheorghiță Geană*).

Au début de mon exposé, j'ai évoqué le « polymorphisme » des expressions biologiques et culturels du phénomène humain. Les cinquante ans de l'*Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* reflètent somme toute les réponses que – à titre de « paléoanthropologues », « bio-anthropologues » ou « ethno-anthropologues » – les générations de contributeurs de notre revue surent donner à cette « luxuriance » autrement irréductible de l'homme comme organisme, comme société et comme symbole. Il n'est pas question de réponses définitives – c'est évident! Mais l'histoire de notre revue (comme probablement celle de toute publication d'un profil plus ou moins similaire) témoigne de toute façon de ce que, tantôt par l'apprentissage du vocabulaire occidental de la discipline, tantôt par l'expérience initiatrice du terrain autochtone, fait partie l'identité professionnelle élémentaire de nos prédécesseurs et à la fois de nos collègues d'aujourd'hui: être à la recherche, disons: d'un concept, d'une méthode, et surtout d'une signification – qui puissent rendre également compte d'une factologie particulière et d'un système théorique accrédité. En souhaitant un « joyeux anniversaire » à l'*Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*, nous lui offrons nos pensées affectueuses et (nous l'espérons) de bon augure pour son avenir éditorial!

Olténie (1980), V.V. Caramelea et al. sur les orientations de valeurs selon des données des « 34 stations pilote, urbains et rurales » dans plusieurs provinces historiques – le Banat, la Transylvanie, l'Olténie, la Valachie, la Moldavie et la Dobroudja – de Roumanie (1992).

²³ I. Opreșcu sur des données de Bucarest, Geomal et Sohodol, Alba, et Lerești-Albești, Argeș (1976).

²⁴ Gh. Geană sur le culte des ancêtres en Izvoru-Argeș (1978).

²⁵ M. Constantin sur la transhumance de Tilișca-Sibiu (2000, 2002, 2003).

²⁶ R. Răutu et al. sur « la sociabilité et la dé-ritualisation » en Bucarest (2005).

²⁷ G. I. Stoiciu sur deux groupes franco-roumains de Bucarest (2011).

²⁸ V. V. Caramelea (1972) et Gh. Geană (1992).

²⁹ Voir le dossier coordonné par Șt. Dorondel et Th. Sikor (2009), avec les articles de K. Fox sur la Roumanie, C. Patterson sur la Moldavie, F. Harvey sur la Pologne, C. Staddon et S. Grykien sur la Pologne et la Bulgarie.

³⁰ Voir à cet égard les contributions sur l'exclusion sociale en Inde, par A. Singh, B. Ramachandran, A. Kawlra, N. Kishor Das et R. Yalamala (2013).

OSTEOARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE *ANNUAIRE ROUMAIN D'ANTHROPOLOGIE* JOURNAL

ALEXANDRA ION¹

Given the 50 years anniversary of the *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie* (ARA) journal, in this brief note I intend to draw an overview of the published articles dealing with anthropological analyses of human remains. From the first issue of ARA in 1964, paleoanthropology/historical anthropology/applied anthropology (as the section in the journal was named) has been a constant topic¹. It has represented one of the three domains of the anthropological discipline (along bio-medical and cultural anthropology researches), as it was defined in the Romanian academic world. It is also worth mentioning that such studies have always opened the contents of the journal.

At first, the articles dealing with skeletal remains from archaeological excavations or contemporary osteological collections were gathered under the "Paleoanthropology" heading (from 1964-1969), but starting with 1970 the editors changed it to "Historical Anthropology" (1970-1978); this would remain the dominant title until 1999 (when one can see a return to the original "Paleoanthropology" label), while in the last 4 numbers of the journal there were no more headings used. This change in the naming of the anthropological subdiscipline is interesting, especially given

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¹ Physical (biological) anthropology, bioarchaeology, and osteoarchaeology have all been used in the scientific literature to name the study of skeletal remains from archaeological sites (Roberts 2006, 418). In general, Physical anthropology is a term used for the study of the "adaptations, variability, and evolution of human beings and their living and fossil relatives" (Hagen 2009; Jurmain et al. 2009: 3). It includes the study of demography, forensic anthropology and paleopathology, as well as primate ecology, behaviour, and evolution (Delson et al. 2000: 1150). As an equivalent, biological anthropology is used, as it can be seen in the case of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists constitution and by-laws (2000: 537), where one of the terms is put in brackets. The term osteoarchaeology has been used along biological archaeology and bioarchaeology, which in the USA designates the analysis of human remains from archaeological sites (Buikstra 1977, cited in Beck 2006: 83). Since the early 1980s, osteoarchaeology, a term coined in 1973 by Vilhelm Møller-Christensen (Roberts 2006: 418) has been used in the United Kingdom for "the study of human and animal bones from archaeological contexts" (Aims and Scope International journal of osteoarchaeology 1991).

that neither of the names used throughout the years corresponds to the contemporary definitions given to them: both terms have been used to denote the study of archaeological skeletal remains, opposed to the analysis of contemporary populations (articles which would be grouped under the “Contemporary Anthropology” heading). Thus, one could find anthropological analyses of human remains from all time periods (Neolithic, Roman or Medieval times) gathered under “Paleoanthropology” (a concept which denotes the study of hominids remains), or articles dealing with Prehistoric remains under the “Historical Anthropology” caption. Therefore, not only that the distinction between these two terms is unclear, but what is even more interesting is the return in the 2000s to “Paleoanthropology” as a heading for articles which would be more appropriately labelled as Osteoarchaeology/Bioarchaeology. This situation might be indicative of an insufficient clarification of the terminology used in the Romanian anthropology. In the same time, the divide of the journal between Paleoanthropology/Contemporary Anthropology and Social Anthropology sections reflected the organisational structure of the Institute of Anthropology “Francisc I. Rainer”².

Most of the 77 articles spanning the 50 years of existence of the journal are osteological analyses of specific skeletal materials coming from archaeological excavations (a certain site, one skeleton, “a population”), comprising of demographic data (sex, age at death) or ethnic characteristics (cranial types, racial traits, statures etc.). Only a handful of studies focus on certain topics: most of these are pathology related (an analysis of the cause of death, “special” pathologies like leprosy, traumas), some deal with interpreting funerary rituals, mortality analyses, and a few are evaluating contemporary osteological collections (3 of them with a focus on the Francisc I. Rainer osteological collection). In general, one can notice a trend in publishing case studies, with very few theoretical points of view to define the basis, goals and concepts of the discipline.

Out of the previous 50 issues of the journal, in 40 of them one can find osteoarchaeology related articles, with topics ranging from anthropological analysis of Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman or Medieval times. The most frequent period by far is the (E)Neolithic, followed by the Middle Ages. All in all there were 51 authors published, about a third of them (18) contributing with more than 1 article. The most prolific author was Olga Necrasov (15% of the articles), who was also an editor of the journal, followed by Dardu Nicolaescu-Plopșor and Georgeta Miu. Regarding the language in which the articles have been written, the dominant language is French (43 articles), followed by English (30) and only 4 are in German. Only in recent times one can notice a bias towards the English language and, in the same time, towards the methods and concepts of the Anglo-Saxon anthropology.

² In fact, until recently, the department dealing with skeletal remains from archaeological sites was named the “Paleoanthropology” department.

Lastly, the majority of the authors have been Romanian, but there are also some contributions of Germans, Hungarians, French, Bulgarians and American researchers throughout the years (with a visible trend of publishing mostly foreign authors in the past 5 years).

In conclusion, being the journal of “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Anthropology, the structure and contents of ARA have reflected the structuring and development of the anthropological discipline in Romania throughout the past 50 years.

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ANALYSIS OF KINSHIP USING MITOCHONDRIAL DNA: A CASE STUDY FROM A 10TH CENTURY MEDIEVAL POPULATION IN CAPIDAVA (CONSTANȚA, ROMANIA)

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Today, due to methodological improvements in ancient DNA techniques, a series of archaeological and anthropological questions can be answered, providing new insights in past human lives. Among the variety of information obtained by examining the archaeological remains at molecular level, kinship and social organization of past societies can be distinguished. This current study relies on the potential of ancient DNA to unravel maternal ancestry within a 10th century medieval population from Capidava, an archaeological site located in South-Eastern Romania (Dobrudja), on the River Danube. One of the most efficient genetic markers used to detect close relationships is mitochondrial DNA which is maternally inherited. Until now, the first hypervariable region of the mitochondrial genome from 3 individuals out of 5, a female, a male and a subadult, was analyzed. These preliminary results indicate that there is no maternal relationship between the female and the male, although funerary context seems to indicate a familial burial assemblage. Further investigations are ongoing, in order to assess whether individuals recovered from Capidava belong to distinct ethnic or social groups as suggested by the funerary inventory.

Key words: ancient DNA, mtDNA, Kinship, medieval necropolis, Capidava.

INTRODUCTION

Biological anthropologists have been trying for several decades to reconstruct past human lives by evaluating themorphological variation of archaeological skeletal remains. Currently, due to methodological advances in ancient DNA techniques, this classical approach is more often supplemented by molecular data (Vanek et al. 2009). In this fashion, more insights regarding an individual's life can be provided, which, in demographic context, can complete the portrait of an ancient community. Ancient DNA has the potential to reveal data concerning

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human evolution, prehistoric human migrations, kinship and social organization in past societies. This fact is highlighted by the diversity of publications in the field (Cerezo *et al.* 2012; Dissing *et al.* 2007; Green *et al.* 2008).

Assessing biological relationships between individuals within a burial assemblage might lead to a better understanding of social organization of past populations including family status and funerary rites (Deguilloux *et al.* 2014). In this light, molecular data may unravel familial relationships more specifically because some morphological traits can't always be determined due to poor preservation of bones or might be influenced by various factors such as epigenetic ones or even individual's daily activities (Mooder *et al.* 2005). Two types of haploid genetic markers are frequently used to get a general idea about kinship patterns among individuals. One of them is the DNA from the mitochondria (mtDNA), cell's energy organelles, which depicts the matrilineal affinities. The second one, short tandem repeats (STRs) on the Y chromosome enable the investigation of the paternal line of individuals (Bouwman *et al.* 2008). Among these, mtDNA is more approachable for investigation of past populations. Also, to identify general parental relationships autosomal STRs can be used, but it reveals only close relationships, because alleles are inherited randomly (Grumbkow *et al.* 2013).

One of the major challenges for ancient DNA research is post-mortem degradation of nucleic acids which makes the retrieval of DNA sequences more difficult (Pääbo *et al.* 2004; Willerslev and Cooper 2005). In order to obtain satisfactory results from nuclear markers the DNA molecules recovered from archaeological remains should be very well conserved. Unlike nuclear DNA, mtDNA has a higher copy number which facilitates its recovery, making it a more reliable tool for ancient genetic studies (Deguilloux *et al.* 2014). Being maternally inherited, genes from the mitochondrial genome are not usually altered by the process of recombination (Cafer 2010). It has also been observed that the evolutionary rate of mitochondrial DNA is considerably higher compared to that of the nuclear genome, which makes it more suitable for the analysis of evolutionary history (Brown *et al.* 1979). All these features promote this molecular marker as a straightforward tool for tracking maternal ancestry (Behar *et al.* 2007; Pakendorf and Stoneking 2005).

The current study focuses on the analyses of the first hypervariable control region (HVRI) from the mitochondrial D-loop in order to determine the maternal lineage of the individuals excavated from Capidava in 2010. The archaeological site is located in the South-Eastern part of Romania (Dobrudja), outside the walls of Capidava fortress on the Danube River. The human remains belonging to five individuals recovered from this burial site were dated to the 10th-11th century based on the inventory and funerary rites (Pinter *et al.* 2011). The archaeological data alone indicate that all of them were buried following a similar pattern specific for Christian populations dated to 10th-11th century (Pinter *et al.* 2011). Still, some facts remain unexplained. For example, the distribution of the human remains in the burial assemblage and the presence of inventory only in two individual's graves

(M3, M4) seem to indicate that there might be two distinct social groups (Fig. 1). The fact that 3 skeletons belonging to a woman (M3), a man (M4) and a child (M5) were buried close to each other gives rise to a new question: was there a familial relationship between them? This study is an attempt to evaluate possible biological and social relationships as well as funerary practices in this medieval population. Taking into account the fact that the majority of the individuals were females and children the most eligible method seems to be the analysis of mtDNA.

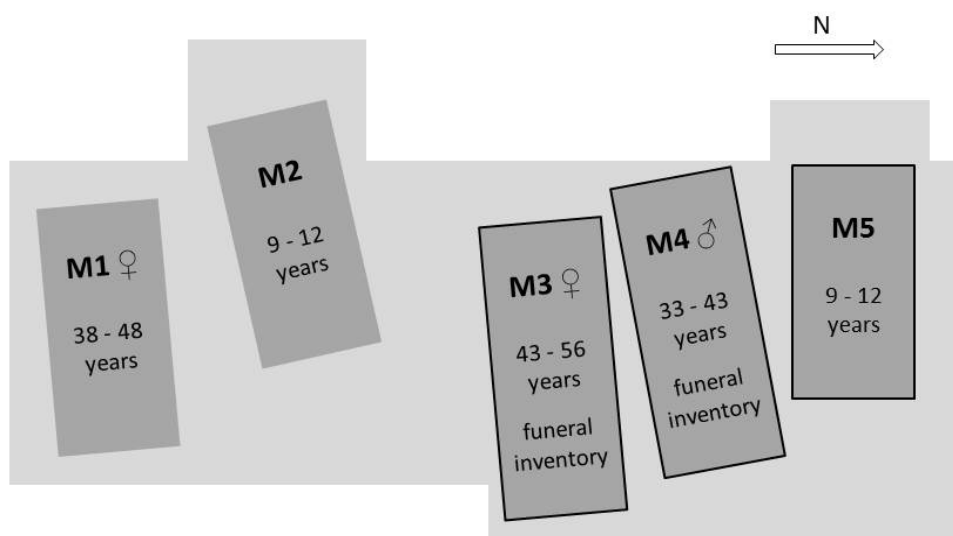


Fig. 1. Spatial distribution of the graves (for the original image see Pinter et al. 2011)

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Human remains

Before molecular analysis, an osteological analysis was performed to identify the sex of the individuals and to estimate their age at death. Standard criteria were applied using cranial and pelvic traits for sex identification. Age for subadults was estimated relying on dental development and bone measurements. Osteological markers such as craniosynostosis, pubic symphysis, auricular surface of ilium and sternal end of the ribs were examined in order to estimate the age at death for the adults (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Lovejoy et al. 1985). Among the samples, two were identified as females with an approximate age ranging between 38-48 years for M1 and 43-56 years for M3. One of the skeletons belongs to an adult male (M4) with an estimated age of 33-43 years. The sex of the remaining skeletons couldn't be assessed due to the fact that they belong to young individuals (M2, M5) of 9-12 years old that hadn't developed morphological characteristics for their sex.

Contamination prevention and authentication of results

Besides molecular damage and poor preservation, ancient DNA studies face another major difficulty. As modern human and microbial DNA is ubiquitous, contamination with exogenous DNA may occur and affect the reliability of the results. In order to avoid laboratory contamination strict guidelines and protocols were followed (Yang and Watt 2005).

DNA extraction and PCR amplification were performed in physically separated laboratories, designated for working solely with ancient samples. All laboratory facilities as well as workbenches were cleaned regularly using Bleach, molecular grade water and ethanol 70% and irradiated with UV light. All researchers who entered the lab were equipped with sterile disposable lab ware so as to minimize contamination to the greatest extent. For each extraction blank controls were systematically co-extracted and negative PCR controls were run for each amplification in order to monitor possible contamination of reagents. Also, to screen for contamination with modern DNA our results were compared to a genetic database comprising HVRI sequences from all personnel (Sampietro *et al.* 2006).

An additional criteria of authentication was followed to exclude the possibility of intra-laboratory contamination (Gilbert *et al.* 2005; Pääbo *et al.* 2004; Willerslev and Cooper 2005). Therefore, an independent replication of the analysis is ongoing in a distinct laboratory, dedicated to the analysis of ancient DNA (Spain). For each skeleton at least one complete tooth, without dental carries or external fissures is being used for DNA extraction.

Sample preparation and DNA extraction

After morphological examination, samples were taken usually from the diaphysis of the humerus, this bone being one of the best preserved parts of the osteological remains. To remove soil contaminants, first the external part of the samples were cleaned with 10% Bleach, sterile distilled water and then 1-2 mm of the bone surface was removed with an electric drill. Next, the whole surface of the bone was UV irradiated prior to each extraction in order to minimize the risk of contamination with exogenous DNA. For the same reason, only one sample was processed and extracted at a time (Rudbeck *et al.* 2005). Bone powder was obtained using a dental drill at a low speed to prevent decrease in DNA yield induced by heat damage (Adler *et al.* 2011).

Generally, 20 mg of powdered tissue was incubated at 56°C overnight in a lysis buffer containing 0.5 M EDTA pH 8.0-8.5, 0.5% SDS, 50mM TrisHCl pH 8.0 and 1 mg/ml Proteinase K (Ginther *et al.* 1992; Hagelberg and Clegg 1991). The solution was then centrifuged and DNA was extracted using a phenol/chloroform protocol. Two extractions with an equal volume of 25:24:1 Phenol:Chloroform:Isoamyl Alcohol (Calbiochem) were performed followed by the addition of chloroform to the aqueous phase so as to remove all traces of phenol (Hervella *et al.* 2012). Subsequently,

DNA was precipitated using two volumes of absolute ethanol and 1/10 volumes of sodium acetate 3M. Pelleted DNA was washed twice with 1 ml of ethanol 80%, dried at 56°C for ten minutes and re-suspended in 1 ml of PCR Grade Water. DNA was concentrated and purified by passing the solution through Amicon Ultra -0.5 mL 30K Centrifugal Filters (Merck Millipore) and then the eluted DNA was stored at -20°C in 20 µl aliquots.

PCR amplification

DNA amplification strategy was based on targeting shorter nucleotide fragments which are more likely to be plentiful even in highly degraded samples such as those found in ancient bones (Gabriel et al. 2001; Pääbo et al. 2004). In this manner, there are more chances to produce authentic DNA sequences. For each specimen, HVRI sequences of the mitochondrial genome were determined by amplifying four overlapping segments ranging from 126 base pairs to 170 base pairs (Gabriel et al. 2001). Several different DNA polymerases were tested including MangoTaq™ (Bioline), MyTaq™ (Bioline), Platinum®Taq (Invitrogen) and PCR reactions were optimized by varying the concentration of the reagents depending on the quality and quantity of the DNA used for amplification. In most cases, MangoTaq™ DNA Polymerase (Bioline) seemed to be the most efficient. Constant results were obtained when the following PCR setup was used for 25 µl reactions: 5 µl MangoTaq Colored Reaction Buffer, 2.5 mM MgCl₂, 0.2 mM of each dNTP, 0.5 µM of each primer, 1.25 U of MangoTaq™ and usually 2 µl DNA template. To overcome amplification problems due to the presence of phenol traces and PCR inhibitors in the extracted DNA, the solution was diluted five times. The PCR program used was: initial denaturation 95°C 5 min, followed by 35 repeats: 95°C 30 sec, 46-50°C (depending on the primers), 72°C 30 sec and a final elongation at 72°C for 5 min. To monitor possible contamination of reagents at least one amplification without template was included with every PCR setting.

Cloning and sequencing

All amplification products were cloned (CloneJet PCR Cloning Kit, Thermo Scientific) and a minimum of five clones containing the insert were sequenced (Macrogen, Netherlands) using standard primer pJET1.2 R. The resulting sequences of multiple clones were aligned using BioEdit software and compared to mtDNA reference sequence (revised Cambridge Reference Sequence; Andrews et al. 1999). This approach enabled us to discern between authentic mutations specific for every individual and miscoding lesions induced by post-mortem alteration of integrity of DNA molecules. Only samples in which a minimum of two clones had nucleotide substitutions specific for ancient degraded DNA were further analyzed. At the same time, the results were compared to the HVRI sequences of the people involved in this study to eliminate the possibility of contamination.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Preliminary results regarding complete HVRI fragment of the mitochondrial control region sequenced from nucleotide 16024 to 16365 (Gabriel *et al.* 2001) were obtained for three individuals out of five. For each individual sequence variation in this region was investigated and all differences between sequences were attributed to transitional substitutions (A-C and C-T).

In the HVRI segment retrieved from skeleton M3 three point mutations were identified, as follows: 16069T, 16111T, 16126C. The first substitution was observed in all clones. Interestingly, 16111T appeared in about half of them, but only in sequences where 16126C was absent. Current results seem to be authentic because all clones had misreading lesions due to post-mortem damage of DNA molecules. Also, extraction blanks didn't lead to amplification of fragments. Moreover, mutation 16111T appeared for the first time in any sample analyzed in our laboratory. Although, to increase the certainty of these findings another set of clones were prepared for sequencing and will be confirmed by results obtained in a distinct laboratory.

In case of individual M4 two polymorphic sites were distinguished: 16129A and 16267T. All clones of each amplified segment proved to have scattered nucleotide substitution which are specific for ancient specimens (Gilbert *et al.* 2003; Hansen *et al.* 2001). 16267T is a rare mutation, currently having only 4 records in MITOMAP (www.mitomap.org), and it was absent among the genetic data from people involved in this study. Mutation 16129A appeared in two modern samples analyzed in our laboratory, but always associated with other HVRI mutations which diagnosed haplogroup I.

For the child, M5, we managed to obtain amplification products, but the results from clone's sequencing are inconsistent and thus inconclusive. It is very likely that poor DNA preservation in the skeletal remains might be a contributing factor. It is well-known that DNA molecule are affected by environmental factors and it was observed that DNA preservation may vary even in specimens excavated from distinct burials within the same archaeological complex (Burger *et al.* 1999; Faerman *et al.* 1995). Only one segment from HVRI seems to be reliable and, despite rigorous precaution against contamination, extraction blanks lead to amplification, for two fragments. This is a common problem in ancient DNA studies as it has been previously reported (Sampietro *et al.* 2006). As a consequence further investigations are ongoing to ascertain the source of contamination as it doesn't seem to be from the persons who handled the samples.

The molecular data obtained could not be assigned with certainty to mtDNAhaplogroup since it included only HVRI segment of the control region. However, these partial results enabled the prediction of mtDNAhaplogroups for sequences retrieved from the adults. Haplogroups were assigned using HaploGrep (Kloss-Brandstatter *et al.* 2010; www.haplogrep.uibk.ac), a web application based on Phylotree (van Oven and Kayser 2009; www.phylotree.org). M4 was assigned

to haplogroup H1e+16129 with a quality of prediction of 100%. Mutations in sequences obtained from M3 indicate it may belong to either haplogroup Hv17 or H14b1.

The fact that both subjects seem to be haplogroup H, but different subtypes, as shown by variation in nucleotide substitution, suggests that there is no closely maternal relationship between them. Even though a brother-sister relationship can be excluded, another type of familial relationship is possible (husband-wife). Archaeological context reflects the hypothesis of two distinct social groups, as M3 and M4 were buried next to each other and are the only individuals who had funerary bronze objects. Current results cannot either dismiss or confirm the existence of any kind of familial relationship between the subadult, M5, and the other two individuals.

As these results shed light on a limited number of subjects, further investigations are in progress as a series of questions still remain without answer. Considering the fact that the historical context of Căpârlău in the 10th-11th century is controversial, little data regarding population affinities is known. It is presumed that human remains excavated in 2010 belong to a Christian population, but it is uncertain whether they were members of a stable local community or they originated from somewhere else (Pinter et al. 2011). Besides analyzing HVRI for all five individuals, an additional technique, restriction fragment length polymorphism (RFLP), will be applied. This will provide a higher resolution of haplogroup assignment which will enable the estimation of diversity/heterogeneity degree in this small population.

CONCLUSION

Current results support the idea of the necessity of meticulous and rigorous work for retrieval of reliable paleogenetic results. At the same time, they highlight the importance of a multidisciplinary approach where molecular data from ancient specimens is constantly investigated in an archaeological and anthropological context. If the presented partial results are confirmed, a maternal relationship between M3 and M4 can be ruled out, even though other familial relationships can be possible. To further assess this hypothesis, radiocarbon dating is considered essential for a more comprehensive picture of the history of this population. By providing more insights concerning the time of death of these individuals, additional arguments for the biological relations are to be revealed. It remains to be seen whether these human remains were buried during the same period of time, which increases the probability of sibling relations between the subjects, or they died at greater temporal intervals (several generations).

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ESTABLISHING ROMANIAN ANTHROPOLOGY: THE FOUNDATION OF "FRANCISC I. RAINER" INSTITUTE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

ALEXANDRA ION¹

Based on archive documents and photographs, along historical information, it is the goal of this article to draw a sketch of the beginnings of systematic anthropological² research in Bucharest, in the interwar period. The study traces the institutional establishment of the discipline in Bucharest, focusing on the foundation of the Institute of Anthropology. These efforts will subsequently be placed in the wider context of the development of the anthropological discipline in Europe and in the USA. As the analysis highlights, the scientific anthropological approach came into being by following three directions: the need of a proper institution devoted to the study of the human variability, equipped with the proper resources (instruments and a library) and constructed around the materials they studied- an osteological collection. In essence, this is how one can summarise the endeavour started in 1919 by Paul Petrini, and continued by Francisc I. Rainer, both professors at the Faculty of Medicine

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² The problem I was confronted with when drawing this text was the choice of terminology: what is the proper concept that defines the endeavours analysed in the text – physical/biological anthropology? or anthropology? The problem arises from the fact that there is a discrepancy between the definition of these terms in the contemporary academic world and their early 20th century counterparts. Namely, in the works and documents of the first proponents of anthropological studies in Bucharest, the term they used was “Anthropology”, the “science of man” as they would call it, a broad discipline; given their medical background, the researchers in Bucharest would be particularly interested in one branch of this “new science”, the one studying the biologic diversity of human beings, what we would call today Physical Anthropology. Thus, even though we might label their efforts as physical anthropology, in their own terms these projects would be subsumed under the general heading of Anthropology. Therefore, I preferred to follow these early anthropologists' definitions and to use “anthropology”. In the same time, one cannot observe cultural anthropological efforts developing in the same time and defined explicitly as such (the introduction of some cultural anthropological methods, like the ethnographic investigations, was partially due to the projects of the D. Gusti sociological school and not to some researchers who would define themselves as “cultural anthropologists”). Furthermore, in the notes and journals of some of these early anthropologists, especially Francisc I. Rainer, one can find questions tackling cultural aspects (personality, cultural variations etc.). Hence, in the first decades of the 20th century, in Romania, under the name of anthropology one would mostly find projects dealing with biological aspects, an interesting aspect which deserves attention and reflection.

(University of Bucharest), an effort of creating an autonomous institution, housed in a new building in the Faculty's courtyard. The establishing of the Institute of Anthropology meant bringing the dead body in the space devoted to its analysis, where the resources for its scientific study would be stored: a library, an archive, rooms especially setup for photography, drawing or preservation.

Key words: Anthropology, Francisc I. Rainer, osteological collection, institute, research collection.

Soon after the ending of the First World War, on March 1st 1919, the director of the Practical works and Descriptive anatomy Department at the Faculty of Medicine (University of Bucharest), Paul Petrini, was writing to the Ministry of Education, Constantin Angelescu:

"There is at the Faculty of Medicine, attached to the laboratory of practical works of descriptive anatomy, which I have the honour to lead, a Museum of Anatomy with anatomical pieces, with the purpose of being consulted by students, for studying various anatomical aspects, which can hardly be prepared [...] during the university year by them. This Museum, which contains a large number of very interesting and precious pieces, [...] has become a useful and indispensable institution for students, without which their instruction would not be complete. However, on the one hand, in order for this museum to continue to grow, and on the other hand, in order to fulfill the mission of serving all the laboratories and the classes of this Faculty in relation to this study... I deem useful and I ask you Minister to take action so that this museum will be detached from the Anatomy laboratory and declared independent on October 1st 1919, running as an independent department. Once the Anatomy Museum is thus independent, it can grow by focusing also on the sciences that are in close relation with anatomy, especially with a new science, Anthropology, which would find a large area of investigation in the rich and precious material which is offered by this museum". (Petrini 1919)

This letter, found during a visit³ at the Municipality of Bucharest Archives is the first mentioning⁴ of trying to introduce, in a systematic manner, a "new science" in Romania, the science of Anthropology. What is more important, is that the fate of this new science was meant to be tied up with that of an anatomy museum (a collection), with medical teaching and with the need of establishing an independent institution, all three aspects which would mark the birth of the Romanian Anthropology.

In his letter, Petrini mentions his very few precursors in such an endeavour, especially the craniological studies of Eugène Pittard from 1912; in this line, it is also revealing the fact that at the International Congress of Anthropology held at

³ Some of the documents presented in this text have been discovered during several visits done by myself and my colleague Consuel Ionică Severus at the Municipality of Bucharest Archives, part of an effort of retrieving the history of "Francisc I. Rainer" Institute of Anthropology. I have to thank to Consuel Ionică Severus for providing me with the photographs of these documents.

⁴ As far as I could find.

Moscow in 1893 was advanced the proposal that the next one should be held in Bucharest, but when no reply came from Romania they decided for Constantinopol (Petrini 1919) (and it was not until 40 years passed that the congress would come to Bucharest). Besides E. Pittard, there have been some other precursors which he does not mention, several physicians and anatomists who introduced certain anthropological methods or topics: starting with the works of Al. Obedenaru in mid 19th century, and continuing with the Mina⁵ and Nicolae Minovici brothers who introduced the anthropological methods of identification, the anthropometry methods, following the Manouvrier and Papillaut school (Milcu 1954: 9). In the same time, they had also supervised several PhD theses on anthropological topics (Milcu 1954: 9). Other names that should be mentioned (Milcu 1954: 9) are Alexandru Obreja (who introduced anthropometry in the psychiatric practice), Nicolae Gomoiu (who studied cranial aspects, and the skull morphology: diameter, thickness, index) or Constantin Ion Parhon, who introduced around 1900 elements of endocrinology to establish constitutional types:

“the function of these glands ... we believe they will one day explain some differences between individuals ... they play an important role in shaping personality ... therefore physiological and psychological individuality” (Milcu 1954: 9).

However, these were nothing more than disparate efforts, where anthropological topics were part of larger anatomical, medical, or forensic studies.

ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

To return to Petrini's letter, the question is: what was this “new science” Anthropology? Or better said, how did he understand it? In fact, Anthropology was not quite so new. The beginnings of the scientific investigation of human remains, the basis for future studies of anthropology have been made in Antiquity, when the first dissections appeared, such as those made by Herophilus of Chalcedon and Erasistratus of Chios in Alexandria in the first half of the third century BC (Katzenberg and Saunders 2000: 5). In these studies, whose purpose was primarily medical, the body was analyzed in terms of physiology and anatomy, but some observations were interpreted in terms of human variability – like the claims of Herodotus related to the hardness of the skull in relation to the environment (Katzenberg and Saunders 2000: 6). These dissections were continued in the Middle Ages and gradually their number would increase in the Renaissance period (see Richardson 2001 for the role of the human body in the development of medicine and anatomy). This, combined with the Great geographical discoveries which brought with them the discovery of the body of the Other and thus the

⁵ Organiser and director of the Institute of Legal Medicine in 1892.

discovery of one's own body, led to an interest in comparing and understanding human variability, on the one hand, and to establishing its relationship with other species, such as monkeys.

Hence, in the 18th century the basis of the Physical Anthropology has been laid, with studies trying to order human variability, to classify, such as the Treaty of C. Linnaeus *Systema Naturae*⁶ or *Decas craniorum* of J. F. Blumenbach (1752-1840) (Katzenberg and Saunders 2000: 7)⁷. The 19th century gradually witnessed proper anthropological endeavours: from human osteology as part of the anatomical study it gets to studies in which the human body becomes an interesting topic, being understood as a source of study for human variability and ethnic/ racial assignments. This is how the craniometry studies appear, among the names that should be mentioned being S. G. Morton (1799-1851)⁸, Franz Boas (1858-1942) and Aleš Hrdlicka, who founded the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (*AJPA*) in 1918 and the American Association of Physical Anthropologists in 1930 (Little and Sussman 2010: 15) in the USA or Paul Broca (1824-80), who founded the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (SAP) in 1859, Laboratoire d'Anthropologie à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (LA-EPHE) in 1867 and Ecole d'Anthropologie⁹ in 1876 (Ferembach 1980), Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) and Rudolph Martin (1864-1925), with his *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie* (Martin 1914)

⁶ Where under the broader category of gender Anthropomorpha (Broberg et al. 1983), which encompassed monkeys and humans, the human species was divided into several types: *Homo europeus*, *asiaticus*, *americanus*, *asser*, *ferus*, and *monstruosus* (a similar study will be done in 1779 by Charles Bonnet- Little and Sussman 2010: 7). Linnaeus sought a classification based on geography, the racial types being associated with the four humors (Stocking 1968 apud Armelagos and Van Gerven 2003: 54). For example, *Homo europeus* is defined as "*albus, fanguineus, torofus, oculis caeruleis, regitur: ritibus*" (Linnaeus 1758: 21). However, as Marks (2010: 268) highlights, these are ideal bodies and Linnaeus does not claim to construct an empirical study on the physical human bodies.

⁷ The form of 82 skulls becomes the diagnostic element to determine the human types, which were interpreted as a "degeneration of the original species" (Katzenberg and Saunders 2000: 7). Even if he keeps the geographical division of Linnaeus's human types, the method of investigation is changing, his work "*Decas craniorum*" creating the basis of craniometry. A similar perspective, which speaks of a unique species, but with more variants, was also shared by Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751-1819) in the U.S. (Little and Sussman 2010: 13). This is the way the concept of race slowly emerges, a concept which will dominate for a long period the human classification systems. From now on, establishing a human type and human variability are understood by the application of quantitative methods for assessing and measuring the human body in order to discriminate differences. It should be noted that the definition of race was not uniform, there being several theories, such as those of Joseph Deniker (1852-1918), William Z. Ripley (1867-1941), and Hans F. K. Günther (1891-1968) (Turda 2006: 4).

⁸ Who, starting from the physical diversity of Native Americans, establishes a hierarchy of the human species based on 700 skulls, by comparing skull measurements, "*Crania Americana*" (Buikstra and Beck 2006: 8; Katzenberg and Saunders 2000: 8; Lieberman 2001; Little and Sussman 2010: 14): "he measured the cranial capacity of human skulls from around the world and produced the numbers he thought would document that races vary in the average volume of the skull and can be hierarchised based on that" (Lieberman 2001: 71).

⁹ Subsequently, similar organizations appear in the "New York, London, Moscow, Madrid, Florence, Berlin, Vienna, Washington, Lyon, Brussels, Bordeaux" (Topinard 1885 apud Hoym 1953: 418).

in Europe (Buikstra and Beck 2006: 8; Katzenberg and Saunders 2000: 8; Lieberman 2001; Little and Sussman 2010: 14, 15).

Given that from the late eighteenth century onwards the skeleton gained importance regarding the identity of individuals and their variations (Katzenberg and Saunders 2000: 7), with sex, age and diseases being defined in biological terms, studying and owning reference materials became vital. This led to the appearance of collections of skulls, or larger bone pieces¹⁰, and the development of methods to investigate the morphology of the skeletal material. Gradually there also appear the first instruments specifically designed for anthropometric measurements, which become the main method of investigation: the artist's and doctor's Elsholtius German tools in 1663 (Hoym 1953: 410), the drawing skull instruments of Peter Camper from 1770, the Baudelocque pelvimeter, a number of mobile calipers (the phrenologic caliper in 1819, the Broca caliper in 1870, Martin caliper in 1914, or Stevenson's in 1929), and the Morton craniometer in 1839 (Hoym 1953: 419)¹¹. In 1842 Anders Retzius is the first to use the cranium length – width ratio to discriminate between brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls, being followed by R. Virchow (1821-1902) and the statistician K. Pearson (1857-1936) (Turda 2006: 6). For age estimation, the first steps were also set in the late nineteenth century¹².

Hence, when Petrini was writing his letter, Anthropology was a consolidated science, with its own methods, instruments and questions, dominated by studies of

¹⁰ Such as the collection of S. Morton in the USA, the collection of the Peabody Museum of Jeffries Wyman (Buikstra and Beck 2006), the Hamann-Todd collection (Western Reserve University), A. Hrdlicka's collection at the Smithsonian Museum's collection: "all parts of the body, in all stages of life, are suitable to become subject of physical anthropology as racial differences, tribal, or other group differences are in them." (Hrdlicka 1904 apud Buikstra and Beck 2006: 23).

¹¹ As can be seen, most of the instruments appear in the second half of the nineteenth century, old instruments being modified or new ones created for studying the: "Variations in the width of the nose, chest circumference, head arches and diameters, the length and torsion of long bones" (Hoym 1953). Also, a standard model of the positioning of the bones is established, such as Blumenbach's for the comparison of skulls (Buikstra and Beck 2006). This position provides a basis for reference for all the observations taken, a context that enables comparisons.

¹² By Thomas Dwight (1843-1911), Parkman Professor of Anatomy at Harvard and his work "The Identification of the Human Skeleton, A Medico-Legal Study" in which he assessed the variation with age of bone morphology (size, degree of welding, degree of wear) (Dirkmaat 2012, 207; Finnegan and Latham 2010: 23). In the first decades of the twentieth century, H. H. Wilder (1890-1971), a professor at Smith College in Massachusetts, will use as criteria for estimating age the tooth eruption, the cranial sutures and the angle of the jaw or femur (Wilder and Wentworth 1918, apud Finnegan and Latham 2010, 23). Ales Hrdlicka (1869-1943) added the idea of using 5 year intervals for bone fusion and, more importantly, introduces the idea of combined analysis in the estimation of age (Finnegan and Latham 2010: 23). In 1924 and 1925, Todd and Lyon use the degree of cranial suture closure in Euro-American men for age estimation. Hence, the supremacy of the skull in assessing age begins with the first studies of Vesalius in 1542 (Dirkmaat 2012: 206) and will start its decline with Todd, who based on the studies in 1920 and 1921 on male and female bones of European and African American descent (Todd 1920; 1921) is one of the first to observe and record the changes with age in the symphysis pubis (Finnegan and Latham 2010: 23), describing 10 phases.

“craniology, anatomy, skeletal biology, human origins, raseology” (Little and Sussman 2010: 14). Therefore, the question is: how did this medical researcher understand anthropology, and how did he argue for its importance and introduction in Romania? We can read that for him Anthropology was:

“the science which studies the humans and the human races, and one of its branches, anthropological craniology, is the study of the cranium especially with the aim of determining the differential characteristics of the cranium in the human races, of discerning the osseous variations due to age, sex and individual particularities and lastly to discover the causes and the genesis of the cranial shapes.” (Petrini 1919)

In general, this definition conformed to the general lines of Anthropology in Europe at the time. Even so, for him craniology would be the most important aspect of the new discipline and the one which had had “the most extensive development” (Petrini 1919), in this respect being somehow behind the latest developments in the field (see Note 11). We can further read that in his opinion such studies would have major importance for every country, for population comparative purposes, leading to a raseological classification; from this one could observe the influences of one population on the other, the links and differences between various crania (and consequently populations).

The question that follows next is where did he get his inspiration? As his letter clearly states, his model came from Germany and France, where anthropology was constituted in “laboratories, libraries and museums with such precious collections”, as well as in anthropological societies (Petrini 1919). These are basically the four pillars around which the Romanian effort was meant to grow (Petrini’s and his successor’s efforts): a dedicated building for the museum, equipped with laboratories and libraries and connected with the international efforts through a society of anthropology.

Therefore, quoting Pittard, he finds it a “moral obligation” to introduce and support anthropology, especially given the historical context: a united Romania¹³ where one can thus study the influences of the other people on Romanians, the distances between populations (Petrini 1919). For this, he proposed the organisation on April 1st of an Anthropology department, which was meant to gather “the cadavers department” and the Anatomy Museum from the Faculty of Medicine, and which would find:

“all the materials needed, either to make diverse anatomical preparations, to enrich the museum, or to realise various craniometric and anthropometric measurements on cadavers... hence building a semnificative crania and osseous pathological specimens” (Petrini 1919).

¹³ At the end of the First World War Romania’s territories which had been under foreign rule (re)united.

We can further deduce the new institution's organisation by looking at the proposed funding and organigram: a director (a job destined to the person who was at that moment the preparator of the Anatomy Museum, Al. C. Borcescu, who had already published an anthropological paper "The Anthropological study of the cranium in the Romanian population", with an atlas and 77 drawings- Petrini 1919), a bone laboratory preparator, a curator, and a custodian, a servant and a coach driver for the cadaver compartment.

Given that Petrini was to retire, the Faculty's reply (received on 24th June) suggested postponing the decision until a new anatomy teacher would come in October. After this, there is no more news, except for the establishment of a prize for anthropological studies in October 1921, at the same Faculty of Medicine, in honour of G.G. Cantacuzino and in exchange of a donation made by his brother (Document October 7th 1921).

Even though things were stopped for a while from the institutional point of view, there is an increasingly interest in anthropology in the academic community. Francisc I. Rainer¹⁴ started teaching anthropology for third year students in 1922, as a professor at the National Institute of Physical Education (later the National Academy of Physical Education) (Majuru 2013: 264). A year later, he published the paper on the "Anthropological Research on the human remains found in excavations (Royal Court, Arges)"¹⁵. In 1927 he took part in the monographic campaigns of the sociological school at the Nereju village, which would be followed by campaigns at Fundul Moldovei and Drăguș (where he "made 1,002 anthropological sheets", Țone 2012), later published in 1937 as *Enquêtes anthropologiques dans trois villages roumains des Carpathes*. In addition, as a professor of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest, Francisc Rainer coordinated several anthropological thesis in anthropology: in March 1926, Valentina Roșca's thesis *A somatological investigation in a normal girl's school* (research centered on 448 students at a state boarding school in Bucharest) (Țone 2012), and in June 1927, "a month before leaving for Nerej, Maria Dumitrescu defended the *Contributions to the study of blood groups in Romania* – a survey of 1,031 students at three state boarding schools" (Țone 2012). To this, one should add a couple of anthropological conferences, on the *Problem of human races*, and the *Origin of the Egyptian people* (Majuru 2013: 130)

1927 is also the year when Petrini's initiative for erecting a new building was revived. In August 1927, Francisc Rainer, in his capacity of director of the Institute

¹⁴ Francisc I. Rainer (1874-1944) was a Romanian physician, anatomist and anthropologists. He studied at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest, worked for almost 17 years as laboratory assistant at Colțea Hospital (performing necropsies and microscopic examinations) (Majuru 2013), after which he taught anatomy at the University of Iași (1913-1920) and then University of Bucharest (1920-1941). He was also the Director of the the Institute of Anatomy and Embriology at the Faculty of Medicine. He introduced the concept of functional anatomy and experimental embryology in Romania (Toma 2010: 157)

¹⁵ The same year when the anthropological studies of the V. Papilian anatomical school in Cluj were published (Milcu 1954, 11).

of Anatomy and Embriology at the Faculty of Medicine took initiative and wrote about this to Profesor Bălcescu, the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. He was granted approval by the Dean and the Ministry of Public Instructions (Majuru 2013: 133). Between 1927-1930, the building was erected, the works being supervised by the G. Ursescu, Galați contractor, but as the documents reveal there has been a rollercoaster of ups and downs: the works stopped several times, on 1st July 1929 took place the provisional acceptance of the building (Document July 1st 1929), and on 30th January 1930 the final acceptance (Document January 30th 1930). However, several documents from 1934 reveal that things were far from finished: the works were continuing, this time conducted by the Spiru Haret contractor, and in June 1935 was gathered a commission for the final acceptance of the building (Document June 22th 1935). Even so, the building was still not ready, as in November the contractor was writing to request permission (which was not granted) for barricading with wood the windows/doors of the first floor over winter, as this was not meant for business yet, while the basement was almost ready (Document November 22nd 1935). In a letter on October 1936 (Document October 28th 1936), Rainer wrote that the cadavers were still a major problem of the Faculty of Medicine, as even though they managed to acquire a number of 186, they rotted as:

“the building designed to replace the horrible current barrack, which functions as the cadevers service for the last 12 years was started 7 years ago, it is ready and plastered on the inside. It remains to be arranged in the conditions set by the constructions schedule. This matter is of a vital importance for the practical education of our faculty” (Document October 28th 1936).

In parallel with this endeavor of building a new institution, we can see his efforts of enriching the osteological collection of the anatomy and embriology institute (see Majuru 2013, Rainer 2012 and Toma 2010 for a review of his biography and work); there are several documents in which he asks for better storage, more cupboards¹⁶, and approval for various construction works at the Institute's building until the new one is ready (Document July 10th 1936), or enriching the collections (Document June 22nd 1936).

It had to pass 10 years before the situation of the new building was brought to an end, and it was when something coming from the anthropology world happened. Romania was designated as the organizer of the XVIIth International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology, which was to take place between 1st and 8th September 1937¹⁷ (Sevastos 1946: 14). One of the attractions of this congress was meant to be the collections which were stored in the basements of

¹⁶ “The crania collection enlarging we need new cupboards; the too old 30 years old curtains got frayed” (Document June 21st 1934).

¹⁷ With 5 directions of research: “morphological and functional anthropology; human paleontology, archeology, prehistory, heredity, eugenics and selection; criminal anthropology; ethnography, folklore, linguistics, history of religions” (Sevastos 1946: 14).

the Anatomy and Embriology Institute, but as this was an improper medium for a visit, at Rainer's request 10-12 million lei were found, granted by the Minister of Finance C. Angelescu and the building was finished (Sevastos 1946: 18). Hence, there are several documents from 1937 certifying commissions for the acceptance of the water works, electricity, furniture, gas, instruments etc. (Document September 27th 1937a; Document September 27th 1937b; Document September 28th 1937a; Document September 28th 1937b; Document October 9th 1937).

These documents, as well as the other that span the construction works, are also rich in details, so that one can get a glimpse in the world of the contractors and companies who operated in the interwar period in this area (some of which were lost over time, but others have laid the foundations of major companies that survived in the communist regime): the basement was finished by the C. Radulescu contractor (Document January 1st 1938); the tar for the crematorium was acquired from the Distributia Society, the distributor of the Concordia Society, one of the biggest oil companies in Romania (Pintilie 2007) (Document February 28th 1938); the chemicals came from the Standard Drug Store (Document June 22nd 1936), while for the Bain Marie degreasing operations was responsible the Paul Budich company¹⁸ (Document 29th September 1937); the central heating and ventilation installations were provided by the C. Ursescu Galați and Son company (Document July 12th 1939), the electric installation by the G. Cartiano contractor, the furniture came from G. H. Dohatco, the lighting from the Dura firm¹⁹ and the instruments from the C.A.M.S.O.M. firm²⁰ (Document 1939).

Thus, when the participants at the congress visited the building in the autumn of 1937, what they could see is captured in a newspaper article:

"I shall not insist on the organisational spirit which presided in the new building, at the installation of the Museum of Anthropology, Museum of Osteology, as well on the scientific spirit and high hygienic consciousness that was behind the design of the cadavers service and the human and animal cadavers used for experiments crematorium, and whose plan and layout deeply impressed all visitors" (Izabela Sadoveanu, apud Sevastos 1946: 17).

However, construction work continued even after this date, with things not going smoothly: there are several complaints still being made that the construction and refurbishing of the cadavers service was not finished²¹ due to lack of funds, but

¹⁸ "Paul Budich, Brass and cauldron workshop, machinery and equipments factory", with the address on Sos. Viilor 33, run by the son of Paul Budich, the engineer Paul Budich (<http://www.umuc.ro/ro/compania/istoric.php>).

¹⁹ The first Romanian company in the manufacture of lighting was funded in 1921 under the name "Dura – electrical and technical enterprise Barta & Co." (Ilas 2007).

²⁰ Medical devices factory (Berceni Street).

²¹ We can find a complaint dated September 30th 1938 about a first floor's latrines overflow, "4th time in the last 6 months" (Document 30th September 1938), several construction estimates, so that finally at end of 1938 the old pavilion is demolished. On 24th October 1938 takes place the final

at the end of 1939, more or less a new building had been erected, meant primarily for the deposit of human cadavers for the medical teaching.

Also, a collection was born (see Ion 2011 for a history and overview of the collection), so that we can read in a memoir of Professor Rainer addressed to the Minister of National Education, on 30th November 1939 (Document 30th November 1939):

“I have built throughout the decades 2 collections which are not organic part of the anatomical teaching, one of the morpho-biology of bone, the other of anthropology, both being located outside of the institute of anatomy, in the new building of the Faculty of Medicine, building which was erected through my continuous efforts and which I have provided with an almost fully equipped anthropology laboratory... The anthropology [collection] which I have started during my training, 40 years ago, is unique in our country. Besides anthropological sheets, casts, and whole skeletons, it comprises of over 4000 crania which represent the most precious material for the craniology study of the Romanian people.” (Document 30th November 1939)

Approaching his retirement, with a collection and a finalised building he thus asked for the directorship of a new institution, the Institute of Anthropology. His petition is also revealing for how he saw the organisation of this new institution: the creation of 4 positions (an assistant, a preparator, 1 custodian, 1 laboratory assistant), a budget for materials, instruments and publications and the creation of its own library, through the move from the library of the Institute of Anatomy and Embriology of the works on anthropology and to receive the extra materials from dissections. (Document 30th November 1939). A couple of days later he sent another memoir, with a very similar content, to the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, D. Mezincescu (Document December 4th 1939), the only new elements being the name which he proposed for the new institution, the “Museum and laboratory of anthropology”, and that the anthropological apparatus that he had acquired over time with funds from different ministers to be passed on to this new institution.

On 7th of December 1939, the Counsel of the Faculty of Medicine approved this petition, “with unanimity of votes”, the organisation of the “Museum and laboratory of anthropology”, and they named Rainer the creator of the Romanian anthropology (Document December 11th 1939). On 21st of December the decision was made official through the approval no. 226.681/939 of the Ministry of National Education (Document December 21st 1939):

“1. The Museum of Anthropology is created, and it will function in the new building in the Faculty of Medicine’s courtyard.

reception of the new building, and other documents dated 11th May 1939, June 1939, and December 1939 state some final works, the building reception and the installation of the air conditioning.

2. Professor Rainer will continue to direct this institution even after his retirement, in a honorary capacity.
3. Regarding the requested personal [...] they will be moved from the budget of the Institute of Anatomy and Embriology of the Faculty of Medicine and turned in the budget of the Museum of Anthropology
4. The future budget will establish the sum necessary for its expenditures and publications". (Document December 21st 1939)

Thus, what would soon become the Institute of Anthropology was born. The first employees, starting from April 1st 1940, would have been the current employees of the Institute of Anatomy and Embriology: Dr. Alecu Tudor (asisstent), Ana Stoica (custodian), Gh. Cucu (tehnician), Ion Sandu (laboratory assistant).

The official opening of the new institution took place on 20th June 1940, in the presence of: Dr. Popa (undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Health), Prof. C. Stoicescu (Rector of the University of Bucharest), Prof. Dascovici (General secretary of the Minister of National Education), Prof. Antipa, Prof. Pompei, Prof. Băsnăţeanu, Prof. Kirişescu and "the entire teaching staff of the Faculty of Medicine and his Majesty the Queen Mother Helen and King Michael" (Majuru 2013, 133). The event opened with a requiem for the dead "from the institution's niches" (Sevastos 1946, 19). In his inaugural discourse, Rainer thanked for the received funds: 2 million lei from the Minister of Finance, Mircea Cancicov; for the finishing of the cadaver service he thanked Casa Şcoalelor, the Ministry of Education and the National Bank (through their representatives, Mr. Şoimescu, Minister Andrei and Mr. Mitiţă Constantinescu), and to the Minister of Finance and the Governor of the National Bank for the laboratory of anthropology; and finally to Prof. Angelescu who had helped him to finish the plans of the building (Sevastos 1946: 21-22).

This was followed by a separation of patrimony of the two institutions (Document May 28th 1940), and the inventory which was drafted on this occasion is revealing for what things one could find in the Institute of Anthropology (according to the document "From the patrimony of the Institute of Anatomy and Embriology.", Document June 28th 1940):

"the collection comprising of about 5000 skulls; 70 anthropology plaster casts; the collection of preparations for the development of the cranium stored in three small cabinets; the bone pathology collection (600 pieces); 30 anthropological instruments and apparatus." ²²

²² The instruments enumerated on the list are: Martin dioptograph, Martin diagraph, Martin caliper, Goniometer with stand, Adaptive goniometer, Mollisen ciclometer, Bauer calatometer, Martin and Saller cubic and tubular craniophor, Martin board, Martin paralelograph, Martin anthropometric kits, Fischer dactiloscopic kit, Martin kit for the eye colour, Fischer and Fischer-Saller kit for the hair colour, Schulte tonometer for skin, Schulte tonometer for muscles (Document June 28th 1940).

These instruments allowed for the decomposing of the body in shape/color/space coordinates and the elaboration of standard individual sheets. All these instruments were borrowed from the medical field (for establishing the normal, abnormal parameters and variability) or the crime field, developed for the need to identify an individual. They were made of metal, wood, paper. They were used²³ either for turning the bodies in two-dimensional images (the Martin diptograph – for cranium; Bauer palatometer – for speech), or measured various dimensions (for the cranial diameters the Martin compass, for the value of angles, the goniometer with stand).

Subsequently, was the request on 13th November 1940 of the separation of payrolls of the two institutions (Document November 13th 1940), which was approved a week later (Document November 20th 1940).



Institut d'Anthropologie «Fr. J. Rainer».

Photograph 1. “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Anthropology.
Source: *L'Oeuvre Scientifique de Fr. I. Rainer*, IV, p. 51.

The first document we could find bearing the name of the new institution dates from July 18th 1941, a reply to a letter of the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine regarding the functioning of the crematorium, document in which Rainer praises this new system of the burning of cadavers, in contrast with the old one:

²³ See “Studijní distanční text. Metody antropologického výzkumu” (http://biology.ujep.cz/vyuka/file.php/1/opory_ukazky/Metody%20antropologick%C3%A9ho%20v%C3%BDzkumu.pdf) – accessed on 17.08.2012).

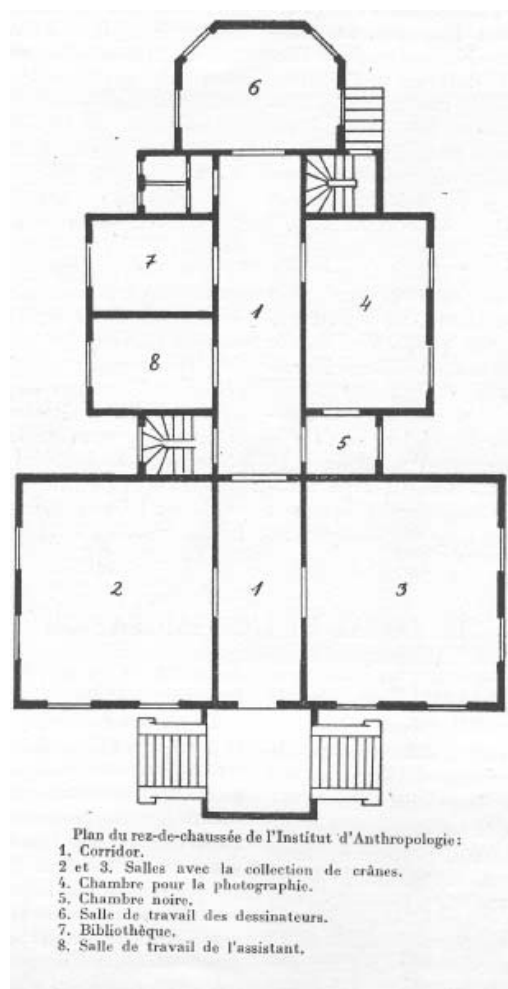
“the famous barrack of sad remembrance, where [the cadavers] attracted numerous swarms of flies, and from where the wind blew the odours in various neighbourhoods of our suburb” (Document July 18th 1941).



Photograph 2. The inauguration of the Institute of Anthropology. Source: Sevastos 1946. *În amintirea Profesorului Fr. J. Rainer*, p. 18.



Photograph 3. The visit of King Michael and the Queen Mother on November 1st 1940 at the Institute of Anthropology. Source: Sevastos 1946. *În amintirea Profesorului Fr. J. Rainer*, p. 18.



Photograph 4. Plan of “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Anthropology.
Source: *L'Oeuvre Scientifique de Fr. I. Rainer*, IV, p. 58.

The final act which establishes the new institution is the publishing of Law no. 822 on November 13th 1942 in the Official Monitor. Between a document about the organisation of some apprenticeship schools and a law on a volunteer gendarme centre in Timișoara, this decree of the marshal Ion Antonescu specified that the “institute with its annex, the cadavers department, become autonomous institution, part of the University of Bucharest”, under the direction of Prof. Rainer. This decree is followed by an account of the Minister of National Culture and Cults, I. Petrovici, highlighting the importance of this Institution which was meant to study from a “scientific point of view the anthropological characteristics of the Romanian people” (Law no. 822 on 13.11.1942 in the Official Monitor).

THE DESIGN OF THE INSTITUTE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The way this building was designed, organised and equipped was just an extension of Professor Rainer's anthropological vision. The building had a basement, a ground floor and two upper floors (which initially were not used). The basement consisted of a brick crematorium, two rooms with metal doors, a metal oil tank, niches for preserving corpses, a glazed basalt bowl (anti-acid against gaseous and liquid products introduced for conservation), indispensable baths, taps and four fire hydrants. The walls were covered with white tiles. The corpses were emaciated and burnt once a week (see even a complaint, after investigation proved to be unfounded, that the odors produced by the burning of corpses caused trouble in the neighborhood, Document July 17th 1941).

The floors were designed to the researchers. On the ground floor one entered through the front, and to get to the upper floors the entrance was through the back. Once passed through a glasvand, then came in a long corridor, at the end of which was a hemicycle with many windows (Tudor 1947, 58). From a central hall, several rooms with large windows opened (5/6 rooms). In two of these rooms the collection was housed in large wooden cabinets with shelves set at equal distance. On these shelves skulls were arranged in line (Tudor 1947, 58). According to the information of Al. Tudor (1947, 58), there was a difference between the two rooms. While one of them was furnished with windows, the skulls being easily observed and they were arranged in order, with the furniture complemented by a file cabinet, in the second room the cabinets had no glass doors (probably these are the same who were once housing the collection in the basement of the Faculty of Medicine), and the material was mixed (casts, skulls, human skeletons). This was the material waiting for classification. On the upper floor were an illuminator and the attic, being hot in the summer and cold in the winter. The doors were all with glass panels and the lighting was managed with light bulbs.

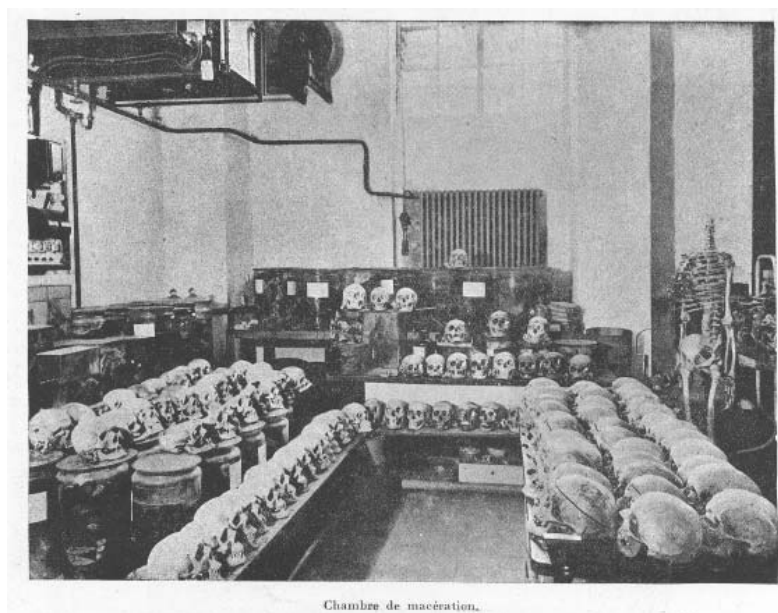
On the floor was cement floor (in the library, the assistant room, and the drawing laboratory) or mosaic (upstairs), and the walls were painted in oil.

In addition to these two rooms there was also (Tudor 1947: 59): a cabinet of photography and radiography room for those who drew the material (with a photo cabinet, table, and a cabinet for storage of materials), a library and the assistant's office. The furniture provided by Gh Dohatco contractor was composed of several tables and wooden chairs.

Upstairs was the principal's office, the morphological-biology pieces and the archive (Tudor 1947: 60). These pieces of bone morpho- biology were organized on limbs/anatomical parts and mounted on wooden stands, using metal rods so that the characteristics that determined keeping them could be observed. The images show how these were true repositories of morphological variations that followed the same theme. The bottom of the corridor was an extended working room (Tudor 1947, 61), with long tables that allowed the analysis of skeletons, microscopic samples etc. Here the chemicals and instruments were also housed. In a closet in that room the above mentioned instruments were deposited and in other cabinets were the anatomical specimens or bone pieces used as teaching material.



Photograph 5. The “cadaver service” of “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Antropology.
Image from “Francisc I. Rainer” archive.



Photograph 6. The maceration room at “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Anthropology.
Source: *L'Oeuvre Scientifique de Fr. I. Rainer*, IV, p. 58.

LAST THOUGHTS

What is thus Anthropology in the acception of the first anthropologists in Bucharest? As the documents highlight, a scientific anthropological approach needs a proper institution devoted to the study of the human variability, equipped with the proper resources (instruments and a library) and constructed around the materials they studied – an osteological collection and the cadavers department. In essence, this is how one can summarise the endeavour started in 1919 by Paul Petrini, and continued by Francisc I. Rainer, both professors of the Faculty of Medicine (University of Bucharest), an effort of creating an autonomous institution, housed in a new building in the Faculty's courtyard. Hence, the anthropological collection "was linked to the medical teaching by its location and history, but meant for an autonomous future through association with the newly found Anthropological Institute" (Ion 2011: 26). Furthermore, the establishing of the Institute of Anthropology meant bringing the dead body in the space devoted to its analysis, where the resources for its scientific study would be stored: a library, an archive, rooms especially setup for photography, drawing and conservation²⁴. There stories, resources, photos, casts, skulls were collected. Therefore, an anthropological paradigm is literally and metaphorically constructed, where the dead body becomes an archived resource. The Institute's space is austere, bearing the mark of a medical academic environment: it is not a space for visitors or students, but one for research and storage, where the scientists is face to face with the things (s)he studies, mediated by an array of instruments and apparatus and with the samples at hand.

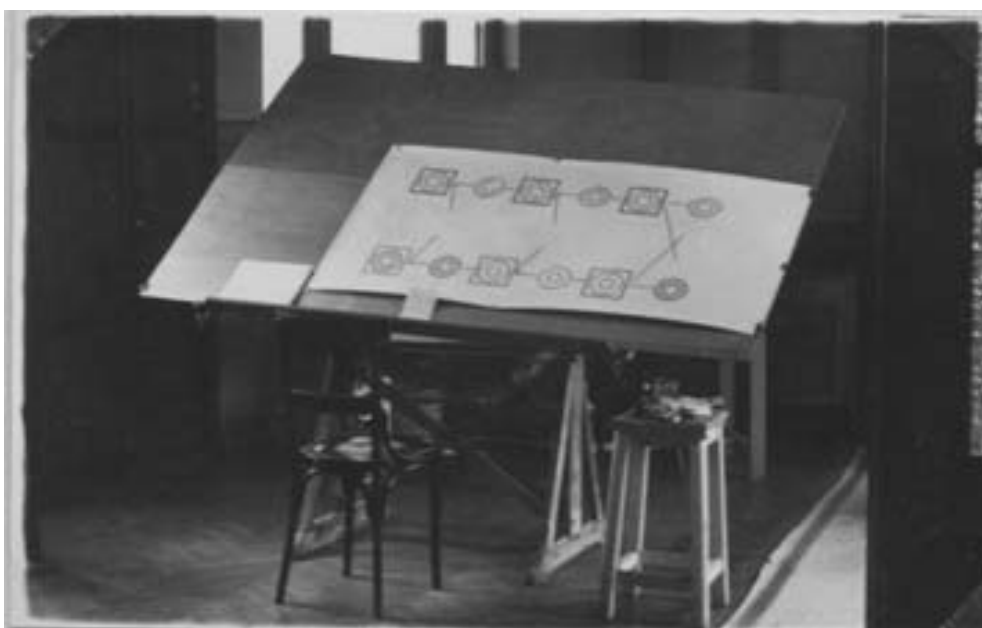
On this foundation, and together with other efforts of academics in Cluj, Iași (see Milcu 1954 for a historical overview) or Bucharest²⁵, the Romanian Anthropology was established.

²⁴ Usually the data from living subjects were taken from elsewhere (see Țone 2012)

²⁵ In a report of Professor Onicescu (1941), he stressed the lack of "even a modest place for the Science of Man" in the university curricula. In addition, he did not believe that medicine is the right place for this subject because it deals with the sick man, has limited interests and it is an applied science, while anthropology is a "synthetic science", along with biology, geology, speology, geography, oceanography, and cosmography. That is because, as he continues, anthropology is a "natural science". Among the topics of interest for anthropology that Onicescu enlists are: "the being, the origin, phylogeny, races, prehistory, experimental psychology, cultural development" (Document 1941). In the same time, in a document from April 1941, the Rector of the University of Bucharest approved the proposal of the Faculty of Sciences of the organisation of an Anthropological and Raseological conference (Document April 5th 1941)



Photograph 7. The photographic cabinet of “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Antropology
Image from “Francisc I. Rainer” archive.



Photograph 8. The drawing room at “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Anthropology. Image from “Francisc I. Rainer” archive.



Photograph 9. The osteological collection on display, at “Francisc I. Rainer” Institute of Antropology. Image from “Francisc I. Rainer” archive.



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RÉPARTITION DES FACTEURS M-N CHEZ LA POPULATION ROUMAINE

CORNELIU VULPE¹, ELEONORA LUCA¹, MONICA PETRESCU¹

M-N Factors Repartition in Romanian Population. This paperwork is part of a series of other syntheses, like those about OAB system and Rh factor, necessary aspects for building up the Anthropological Atlas of Romania. In order to establish the groups' frequency of M-N system in Romanian population, a sample of 38,759 individuals, for both sexes, was selected, from different other paperwork. In the same sample, the m and n genes frequencies were calculated. Comparing our data with those found in other European populations, we observed similar values with the limits of variability from the Balkan area of Europe.

Key words: erythrocytar system, codominance, phenotypic and genotypic variability.

En général, une étude anthropologique des systèmes érythrocytaires est importante pour la caractérisation comparative des populations et l'appréciation de la variabilité phénotypique et génotypique des certains groupes sanguins conformément au modèle classique de recherches en anthropologie. Une telle étude est aussi notre travail présenté ci-dessous.

En 1927 K. Landsteiner et Levine ont découvert le système MN contrôlé par les gènes M et N qui sont en rapport de codominance et déterminent la synthèse des antigènes érythrocytaires M et N (dans le texte, m et n). Le système ne présente pas des anticorps qui s'obtiennent par l'immunisation. En 1947 on a découvert l'antigène érythrocytaire S associé avec MN, sa synthèse étant coordonnée par le gène S, dominant par rapport au s et codominant par rapport aux M et N. (Neagoș et al. 2012 : 125-135). Les antigènes S et s manquent rarement, excepté les pygmées de Congo. (Maximilian 1984 : 363).

Le système MN c'est un exemple de codominance – une modification du rapport dominance – récessivité par lequel les formes hétérozygotes expriment phénotypiquement les deux allèles situés sur des locus homologues. Les gènes M et N sont placés sur le chromosome 4 et sous la forme hétérozygote MN on peut mettre en évidence les deux antigènes érythrocytaires. Par exemple, dans le cas

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d'un mariage entre deux hétérozygotes MN le rapport de ségrégation phénotypique en génération F1 est de 1 : 2 : 1. (Severin 1996 : 83-85).

Le système MN n'a pas une importance spéciale dans les transfusions sanguines. Avant « l'époque ADN », le système MNSs figurait parmi les caractères cherchés dans les expertises de filiation. Cette sorte de recherche a intéressé aussi les spécialistes de médecine judiciaire, surtout pour l'identification d'une personne.

Après la découverte du système M-N par Landsteiner et Levine en 1927, beaucoup de chercheurs ont été préoccupés à investiguer ces caractères érythrocytaires chez les diverses populations. Dans notre pays les premiers qui ont effectué de telles études ont été Olga Necrasov (1937) et P. Râmneanu (1937). Pour une bonne période, les travaux similaires ont été interrompus, ceux-ci étant repris après 1956 en même temps avec le début des recherches anthropologiques dans les régions Hunedoara et Bicz. Depuis ce moment les études concernant le système M-N ont été élargies aussi en d'autres zones du pays et les résultats sont apparus de plus en plus dans les travaux.

Le travail présent fait part d'une longue série d'autres études (ex. des systèmes érythrocytaires AB0, Rh etc.) qui ont servi à réaliser l'Atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie. Les résultats obtenus ont contribué à la détermination de la position des populations roumaines par rapport aux autres populations européennes.

RÉSULTATS

À la suite de l'accumulation d'un riche matériel concernant l'étude des facteurs M-N, la chercheuse Simona Beroniade a réalisé une synthèse publiée en 1973. (1). Après quelques années, en 1980, apparaît une autre synthèse conçue par V. Săhleanu et D. Ciotaru. Mais celle-ci est resté en manuscrit, pour l'utilisation interne, attaché aux autres travaux de la première forme de l'Atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie. Une dernière synthèse concernant les groupes M-N chez les populations roumaines nous appartient. C'est la synthèse que nous vous présentons dans ce travail. Pour apprécier la mesure dans laquelle sont survenues des modifications appréciables ou même de petits changements, nous présentons ci-dessous notre synthèse par rapport à celles précédentes:

Année	Nº	M	MN	N	m	n	Auteurs
1973	30018	30,17%	51,17%	18,65%	0,558	0,442	S. Beroniade
1980	34642	30,16%	51,01%	18,82%	0,557	0,443	V.Săhleanu, D.Ciotaru
2012	38759	30,64%	50,50%	18,86%	0,559	0,441	C.Vulpe et collab.

Comme on voit au schéma ci-dessus nous considérons qu'il ne se sont pas produites des différences importantes et il n'importe pas combien le volume des échantillons croîtrait, les chiffres oscilleront très peu autour ces pourcentages.

Il faut mentionner qu'à la réalisation de cette dernière synthèse ont contribué aussi des spécialistes de l'Institut de Médecine Judiciaire de Bucarest (des analyses effectuées par Marcela Boia, I. Vasiliu, V. Crainic et publiées en 1965).

Conformément au tableau 1 et à la figure 1 on peut observer le mode de répartition des groupes sanguins du système M-N et la fréquence génique m et n chez les populations de provinces historiques.

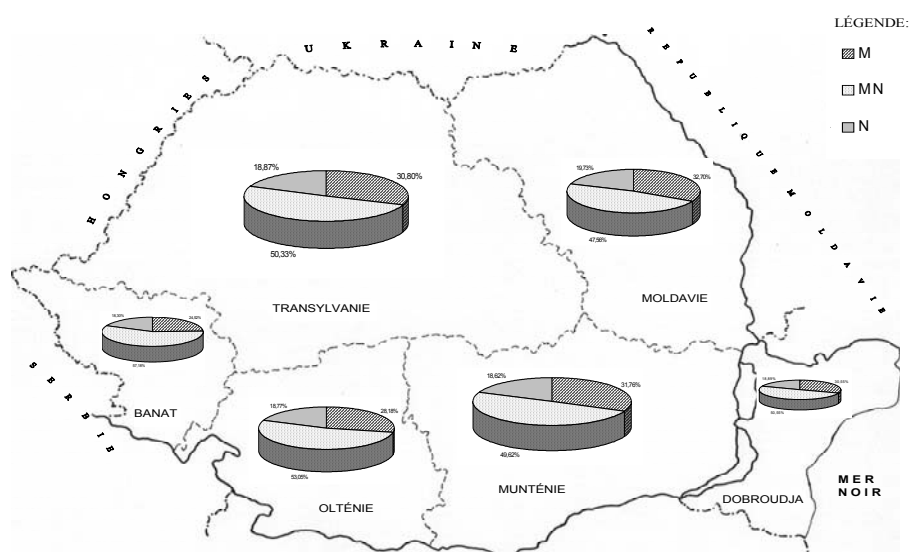


Figure 1 – Fréquence des groupes sanguins du système MN dans les provinces historiques

Figure 1. Fréquence des groupes sanguins du système MN dans les provinces historiques.

Le groupe M. La plus élevée fréquence de ce groupe-là se trouve chez la population de Maramureș (37,57%), tandis que les valeurs les plus basses apparaissent en Banat (24,52%) et en Olténie (28,18%). Pour les autres provinces les chiffres oscillent entre 33,55% – Dobroudja et 32,82% – Moldavie. C'est intéressant ici la distribution ressemblante à celle du groupe sanguine A du système 0AB, dont la plus grande fréquence se trouve aussi chez la population de Maramureș et les petites valeurs se rencontrent en Banat et Olténie.

Le groupe N. Ce groupe enregistre la plus basse fréquence en Maramureș (17,30%) et la plus élevée en Moldavie (19,77%). Pour les autres provinces les variations sont très petites – de l'ordre de centièmes du pourcentage (entre 18,30% - Banat et 18,99% – Dobroudja). Nous pouvons faire ici encore un parallélisme entre les deux systèmes (0AB et M-N) par les valeurs de pourcentage plus basses des groupes 0 et N en Maramureș.

Tableau 1

Distribution des groupes sanguins du système M-N en Roumanie

La province	Nº. sujets	M	MN	N	m	n
Transylvanie	14455	4453 30,80	7275 50,33	2727 18,87	0,559	0,440
Munténie	7245	2301 31,76	3595 49,62	1349 18,62	0,566	0,434
Moldavie	3608	1184 32,82	1713 47,48	711 19,70	0,565	0,434
	2792	909 32,56	1331 47,67	552 19,77	0,564	0,436
Olténie	6530	1840 28,18	3464 53,05	1226 18,77	0,547	0,453
Banat	2590	635 24,52	1481 57,18	474 18,30	0,531	0,469
Dobroudja	360	110 30,55	182 50,55	68 18,89	0,558	0,442
Maramureş	1179	443 37,57	532 45,12	204 17,30	0,601	0,399
Roumanie	38759	11875 30,64	19573 50,50	7311 18,86	0,559	0,441

Le groupe MN. Ce groupe est le plus fréquent en Banat (57,18%) et moins signalé en Maramureş (45,12%). Pour les autres provinces les valeurs oscillent entre 47,48% – Moldavie et 53,05% – Olténie.

En centralisant les données présentées ci-dessus il résulte les suivantes valeurs extrêmes:

	Minimum	Maximum
groupe M:	24,52% – Banat	37,57% – Maramureş
groupe MN:	45,12% – Maramureş	57,18% – Banat
groupe N:	17,30% – Maramureş	19,77% – Moldavie

Les moyennes pour tout le pays sont: M = 30,64%; MN = 50,50%; N = 18,86% et les fréquences géniques correspondantes sont: m = 0,559 et n = 0,441.

Par conséquent, il résulte que l'intervalle de variation pour les groupes M et MN est approximativement de 12–13 pourcentages tandis que pour le groupe N ceci est très réduit – moins de 1%.

On remarque que tant dans les provinces historiques que dans le pays entier, l'ordre de la distribution des fréquences est: $MN > M > N$.

Dans le tableau 2 sont présentées les fréquences des groupes du système M-N selon les départements. En analysant les données du tableau on constate la présence des suivantes valeurs extrêmes:

	<u>M</u>	<u>MN</u>	<u>N</u>
minimum	21,60% - dép. Vaslui	44,85% - dép. Maramureș	14,77% - dép. Alba
maximum	37,57% - dép. Maramureș	58,40% - dép. Vaslui	22,14% - dép. Timiș
valeurs fréquentes	28-35%	47-51%	17-21%

Pour les fréquences géniques:

	<u>m</u>	<u>n</u>
minimum:	0,508 - dép. Vaslui	0,397 - dép. Maramureș
maximum:	0,602 - dép. Maramureș	0,492 - dép. Vaslui

Les deux schémas ci-dessus montrent que les valeurs extrêmes pour les groupes M et N caractérisent deux départements: Maramureș, situé au nord du pays et Vaslui, situé à l'est. Le groupe N enregistre une valeur minimale à l'ouest-du pays (dép. Alba) et une valeur maximale au sud-ouest de la Roumanie (dép. Timiș). Les fréquences géniques pour m et n présentent des valeurs extrêmes dans les mêmes départements signalés ci-dessus, Vaslui et Maramureș.

De l'analyse du tableau 3 il résulte que les peuples de l'Ouest de l'Europe, où le groupe sanguin A se caractérise par une fréquence grande et prédominante, ont une proportion plus basse du facteur M. Contrairement au rapport du groupe A, le facteur M croît à mesure qu'on avance vers l'est du continent, situation similaire à la distribution croissante du gène m. La population roumaine, en conformité aux données du tableau ressemble aux habitants de la zone balkanique de l'Europe. L'appartenance européenne des Roumains est soutenue aussi par Simona Beroniade dans sa synthèse. De même opinion est aussi Petre Râmneanu qui affirme „...nous pouvons exprimer avec beaucoup de certitude que les propriétés de M et N varient selon l'origine de divers noyaux de population” et par ces caractères notre population s'encadre entre les limites de variabilité qui caractérisent les Européens.

Tableau 2

Les groupes sanguins du système MN en provinces et départements (%) *

Provinces	Département/ Zone	Nº. sujets	M	MN	N	m	n
Transylvanie	Hunedoara	7391	29,48	50,88	19,64	0,549	0,451
	Alba	379	27,97	57,26	14,77	0,556	0,444
	Sibiu	741	24,56	53,98	21,46	0,516	0,484
	Braşov	4456	32,61	49,98	17,41	0,576	0,424
	Mureş	101	35,64	48,52	15,84	0,599	0,401
	Maramureş	1387	35,83	44,85	19,32	0,583	0,417
		1179	37,57	45,12	17,30	0,602	0,397
Munténie	Argeş	1530	32,22	49,35	18,43	0,569	0,431
	Dâmboviţa	237	29,96	49,79	20,25	0,548	0,451
	Prahova	928	30,17	51,18	18,64	0,557	0,443
	Buzău	1342	36,44	46,12	17,44	0,595	0,405
	Teleorman	617	28,36	50,73	20,91	0,537	0,463
	Ilfov	1552	29,96	51,68	18,36	0,558	0,442
	Brăila	1039	31,57	49,37	19,06	0,563	0,437
Moldavie**	Iaşi	320	26,87	51,88	21,25	0,528	0,472
	Suceava	144	31,25	47,22	21,53	0,549	0,451
	Neamţ	891	32,21	47,82	19,97	0,561	0,439
	Bacău	131	32,06	47,33	20,61	0,557	0,443
	Vaslui	125	21,60	58,40	20,00	0,508	0,492
	Galaţi	146	31,51	48,63	19,86	0,558	0,442
	Vrancea	1035	36,33	44,93	18,74	0,588	0,412
	De Nord	1868	35,11	45,50	19,38	0,579	0,421
	Centrală	1740	30,34	49,59	20,06	0,551	0,448
Olténie	Gorj	2082	24,16	55,62	20,22	0,519	0,480
	Dolj	687	28,52	53,28	18,20	0,552	0,448
	Olt	762	29,52	51,84	18,64	0,554	0,446
	Mehedinţi	2072	29,49	52,56	17,95	0,558	0,442
	Vâlcea	927	32,90	49,20	17,90	0,575	0,425
Banat	Caraş Severin	2459	24,24	57,66	18,10	0,531	0,469
	Timiş	131	29,77	48,09	22,14	0,538	0,462
Dobroudja	Constanţa	184	30,98	49,46	19,56	0,557	0,443
	Tulcea	176	30,12	51,70	18,18	0,560	0,440
R O U M A N I E		38759	30,64	50,50	18,86	0,559	0,441

* Données après les *Atlas anthropologique des provinces historiques*** Données après l'*Atlas anthropologique de la Moldavie* et après V.Săhleanu et D.Ciotaru (données en manuscrit)

Tableau 3

Distributions des facteurs M-N et les fréquences des gènes m, n
dans diverses populations Européennes*

Populations	N	M %	MN%	N%	m	n	Auteurs cité par Beroniade S.
Espagnols	4239	24,46	56,50	19,04	527	473	Mourant (3)
Anglais	1275	28,40	49,60	22,00	532	468	Race et Sanger
Tchécoslovaques	4038	28,45	50,07	21,47	535	465	Mourant (3)
Suisses	4225	29,30	48,90	21,80	538	462	Mourant (3)
Belges	3100	28,87	50,35	20,77	540	460	Prokop (6)
Allemands	42138	28,43	51,62	19,95	542	458	Prokop (6)
Danois	1485	29,96	48,89	21,15	544	456	Prokop (6)
Norvégiens	34309	30,18	49,03	20,79	547	453	Prokop (6)
Autrichiens	240	29,58	50,42	20,00	548	452	Mourant (3)
Français	4151	30,28	49,27	20,45	549	451	Mourant (3)
Bulgares	672	30,95	52,53	16,52	556	444	Boev et Popwassilliev
Roumains	38759	30,64	50,50	18,86	559	441	Vulpe et col. (10)
Yougoslaves	1527	30,33	51,79	17,88	562	438	Wiener (11)
Grecs	14870	-	-	-	570	430	Constantoulis et Pardoussis
Hongrois	20000	32,60	49,00	18,40	571	429	Rex-Kiss B. et Szábo
Italiens	4031	33,49	47,90	18,61	574	426	Mourant (3)
Suédois	4000	33,97	48,13	17,90	580	420	Wiener (11)
Russes	563	35,88	47,42	16,70	596	404	M.A. Umnova et colab.
Polonais	3100	35,50	48,30	16,20	597	403	Mourant (3)
Finlandais	9693	40,10	46,10	13,80	632	368	Prokop (6)

* après Simona Beroniade, 1973

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CARACTÉRISTIQUES MORPHOLOGIQUES ET PIGMENTAIRES DE CERTAINS ADULTES DE ROUMANIE

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Some morphological and pigmentary characteristics of adults group from all the country. The study of some morphological and pigmentary characteristics of adult group from all the country is part of the researches regarding the specific features for determination of anthropological types from Romanian population, for the estimate phenotypical variability and sexual differences. The sample is composed of 137 pairs (274 individuals, 137 women, 137 men) from the Romanian towns and villages, examined for paternity research in our institute after 1990. We applied the classical and comparative methods (Martin-Saller, Weninger-Pösch, Olivier, etc.) and we used tests of significance. The results emphasize an “average masculine type” with a medium bulging occiput, a lightly oblique forehead, an oval and polygonal face, a straight and convex nose, dark hair and hazel eyes, etc. The morphological characteristics are missing in the recent Romanian Anthropological Atlas. These findings are similar with the previous results from some provinces and communities from Romania and comprise the Romanian population into the European morphological typology.

Key words: morphology, pigmentation, anthropological typology.

Les traits morphologiques externe concernant la région céphalo-faciale décrivent une série de caractères de: forme, grandeur, largeur, hauteur, volume, direction, proportion, relation, etc., caractères qui, finalement, contribuent à composer la physionomie, la figure humaine...Ces sont des caractères à une hérédité multifactorielle, en étant plus ou moins influencés par l'environnement et, similaires aux caractères anthropométriques, ceux-ci varient dans la population sous la forme d'une courbe unimodale.

Dans l'histoire de l'espèce et de l'individu humain, en phylogénèse et ontogénèse, la figure humaine a gagné une plus forte dimension socio-culturelle. Les caractères morphologiques et aussi ceux pigmentaires des cheveux et des yeux, éléments constitutifs de la communication non-verbale, ont un impact assez fort dans la société, dans les relations entre les individus, les générations, dans

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l'attraction sexuelle, l'assortiment matrimonial et la durabilité du couple, dans les circonstances de reconnaissance/non-reconnaissance de l'appartenance à une famille, population, ethnie, groupe, etc., à la conservation ou à l'abandon de divers modèles culturels etc." Chaque vision concernant l'homme a beaucoup d'implications politiques et idéologiques" disait le professeur Victor Săhleanu. (Săhleanu 1996: 64-65)

Notre travail s'ajoute aux études roumaines de caractérisation anthropologique des populations, de diagnose typologique, d'illustration des différences sexuelles et particularités des populations du point de vue génétique, environnemental, historique et culturel.

Au cours du temps, les chroniqueurs, les voyageurs étrangers, beaucoup de personnalités de l'anthropologie internationale ont décrit les Roumains comme de beaux gens, moyennement hautes, vigoureux et avec des traits bien marqués et des formes qui paraissent sculptées, en harmonie avec leur contrée pittoresque.

Dans son livre *La Roumanie* (1917), Eugène Pittard soutient l'unité nationale par les caractères anthropologiques des Roumains de trois grandes provinces historiques, en considérant que les populations hautes, brunes et brachycéphaliques représentent le type originaire des Roumains.

Les anthropologues des écoles de Cluj, Jassy et Bucarest ont contribué par leurs recherches pendant le XX^e siècle à la caractérisation du type physique des Roumains. Les enquêtes anthropologiques du professeur Francisc Rainer, continuées par les collectifs conduits par l'academicien Șt. Milcu et professeur H. Dumitrescu ont été concrétisées par des travaux monographiques qui comprennent aussi certaines références aux caractères morphologiques et pigmentaires. Telles recherches ont été continuées par les anthropologues de Bucarest et Jassy sous la coordination du professeur Olga Necrasov, professeur V. Săhleanu, dr. Maria Cristescu, dr. Suzana Grințescu-Pop, dr. Th. Enăchescu, les données étant partiellement valorifiées par des thèses de doctorat et, finalement, entre 1999–2013 par les *Atlas des provinces historiques et géographiques* et par les deux volumes de l'*Atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie*. Malheureusement, ceux-ci ne comprennent pas d'aspects concernant la morphologie des populations étudiées. L'absence de la caractérisation morphophysionomique des populations s'explique aussi par les données incomplètes concernant les provinces roumaines et aussi par l'attitude réservée devant les caractères morphologiques ou descriptives qui ont été utilisés pour caractériser les races humaines. C'est vrai que le prélèvement et l'interprétation des phénotypes morphologiques sont soumis à un relatif subjectivisme et demandent des experts réels. Mais, il est important que ces caractères contribuent à l'enrichissement des données pour une meilleure connaissance de la structure anthropologique, de la diversité et variabilité des populations.

Les auteurs du présent travail ont étudié les caractères morphologiques et pigmentaires entre 1980–1998 pendant les enquêtes anthropologiques dans six communautés roumaines et à l'occasion des expertises de recherches en paternité /maternité. Nous avons fait des synthèses, en 1991 et en 2011, la dernière plus riche. Celles-ci ont été présentées aux diverses sessions scientifiques.

Le travail présent est basé sur les données inscrites dans les fiches anthropologiques utilisées par les auteurs pour la recherche de la paternité aux derniers expertises sur les caractères polyfactoriels, avant „l'époque de l'ADN". Il faut préciser que notre recherche n'est pas une étude génétique et les auteurs ont respecté les normes législatives concernant l'éthique, la déontologie et le secret professionnel, en utilisant les données après la solution définitive des cas de notre échantillon.

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODES

Le matériel d'étude est représenté par 137 couples *homme – femme*, en totalisant 274 sujets provenant, pratiquement, de tous les départements du pays, également du milieu rural ou/ et urbain. Selon les provinces historiques et géographiques, la Munténie et Transylvanie sont les plus représentées (plus de 30%), suivies par la Moldavie (13%) tandis que le moins représenté c'est le Banat (2%). La majorité des hommes sont mariés (plus de 50%) mais les femmes sont célibataires ou divorcées (plus de 57%). Les hommes dépassent les femmes par le niveau d'instruction et professionnel (plus de 60% d'hommes ont des études post-lycée et universitaires).

Nous avons sélectionné pour ce travail 28 caractères morphologiques et deux pigmentaires (iris et cheveux). Les phénotypes morphologiques se réfèrent spécialement au niveau céphalo-facial en décrivant des caractéristiques de forme, grandeur, orientation, position etc. Les données ont été prélevées par la méthode ectoscopique en deux plans, frontal et latéral et par la méthode comparative, en utilisant aussi des échelles de variation phénotypiques des caractères incriminés (Martin-Saller, Weninger-Pösch, Erhardt, Martin-Schultz, Fischer-Saller etc.). Il faut mentionner que nous avons utilisé quatre catégories pour la pigmentation, spécialement pour différencier la catégorie intermédiaire. On a calculé les fréquences relatives des phénotypes et on a appliqué des tests de significations pour mettre en évidence le dimorphisme sexuel et les différences par rapport aux autres populations étudiées. Le syntagme „type moyen" se réfère aux catégories de variation prédominantes dans la population respective pour les phénotypes des caractères incriminés.

RÉSULTATS ET DISCUSSIONS

1. CARACTÉRISATION DES HOMMES (tableau 1, figures 1 et 2)

Le „type moyen" masculin se caractérise par un occiput moyennement arrondi, une orientation du front moyenne vers oblique, la face de forme ovale et/ou polygonale (surtout rectangulaire) avec les pommettes moyennement saillantes et orientées frontalement ou intermédiaire. Le nez a une racine de hauteur moyenne ou basse et de largeur moyenne, un profil droit vers convexe, la pointe

ronde-pointue et le septum nasal nettement horizontal. Les sourcils sont larges faiblement vers moyens et partiellement rapprochés vers indépendants. La fente palpébrale est moyennement large à une orientation horizontale vers une faible oblicité et la paupière supérieure a, de manière prédominante, un taux élevé de chargement. La branche mandibulaire est moyennement oblique, le menton est moyen vers haut, avec un contour marqué, positionné en plan facial et faiblement divisé. La lèvre dermique supérieure est de forme droite vers concave, moyennement haute ou/et faiblement basse. Les lèvres muqueuses ont une épaisseur moyenne et la fente orale est moyenne en grandeur. Les oreilles des hommes sont moyennes et de forme mésomorphe ou leptomorphe avec un lobule moyen vers petit, détaché ou partiellement adhérent.

Tableau 1

La variabilité de certains caractères morphologiques et pigmentaires

Caractère et phénotypes	Hommes		Femmes		χ^2	r
	n	%	n	%		
1. Forme de l'occiput	137		137			-0,09
– aplatie	61	44,52	28	20,44	18,06*	
– moyenne	66	44,18	90	65,69	8,54*	
– bombée	10	7,30	19	13,87	3,11	
2. Direction du front	108		108			0,11
– verticale	21	19,44	62	57,41	32,74*	
– moyenne	50	46,30	41	37,96	1,53	
– oblique	37	34,26	5	4,63	30,13*	
3. Contour du visage	137		137			-0,01
– oval	46	33,58	65	47,44	5,44*	
– arrondi	33	24,09	39	28,47	0,68	
– polygonal	58	42,33	33	24,09	10,25*	
4. Relief des pommettes	137		137			0,11
– saillantes	19	13,87	60	43,80	61,48*	
– moyennes	72	52,55	60	43,80	2,10	
– estompées	46	33,58	17	12,40	17,27*	
5. Direction des pommettes	108		108			-0,16
– vers l'avant	40	37,04	18	16,66	11,35*	
– intermédiaire	40	37,04	45	41,67	0,48	
– vers l'extérieur	28	25,92	45	41,67	5,95*	
6. Direction de la branche mandibulaire	108		108			0,21*
– oblique	23	21,30	21	19,44	0,11	
– moyenne	59	54,63	52	48,15	0,90	
– horizontale	26	24,07	35	32,11	1,84	
7. Hauteur de la racine nasale	137		137			0,03
– haute	21	15,33	95	69,34	81,57*	
– moyenne	80	58,39	36	26,28	28,84*	
– basse	36	26,28	6	4,38	25,22*	
8. Largeur de la racine nasale	110		110			0,08
– étroite	25	22,73	6	5,45	13,49*	
– moyenne	70	63,64	60	54,55	1,87	
– large	15	13,64	44	40,00	19,39*	

(suite du Tableau 1)

9. Profil du nez	136		136			0,04
– droit	74	54,41	71	52,21	0,13	
– concave	16	11,76	30	22,06	5,11*	
– convexe	36	26,47	8	5,88	21,18*	
– sinueux	10	7,35	27	19,85	9,01*	
10. Forme de la pointe du nez	136		136			-0,07
– ronde	45	33,09	57	41,91	2,25	
– ronde-pointue	64	47,06	62	45,59	0,06	
Caractère et phénotypes	Hommes		Femmes		χ^2	r
	n	%	n	%		
– pointue	24	17,65	11	8,09	5,52*	
– aplatie	3	2,21	6	4,41	1,03	
11. Direction du septum nasal	137		137			0,02
– ascendante	14	10,22	47	34,31	22,88*	
– horizontale	99	72,26	81	59,12	5,23*	
– descendante	24	17,52	9	6,57	7,72*	
12. Largeur des sourcils	137		104			0,03
– étroits	5	3,65	34	32,69	36,61*	
– moyens	44	32,12	57	54,81	12,45*	
– larges	88	64,23	13	12,50	64,72*	
13. Relation des sourcils	136		104			0,17
– rapprochés	12	8,82	1	0,96	7,08*	
– presque indépendants	66	48,53	30	28,85	9,47*	
– indépendants	58	42,65	73	70,19	17,96*	
14. Chargement de la paupière supérieure (Schéma Erhardt)	137		137			-0,23*
– taux élevé (I)	71	51,82	40	29,20	14,50*	
– taux réduit (II)	54	39,42	87	63,50	15,85*	
– sans plis (III)	12	8,76	10	7,30	0,20	
15. Ouverture de la fente palpébrale	137		137			-0,01
– étroite	26	18,98	12	8,76	5,97*	
– moyenne	82	59,85	60	43,80	7,05*	
– large	29	21,17	65	47,45	20,91*	
16. Direction de la fente palpébrale	108		108			0,05
– horizontale	58	53,70	42	38,89	4,74*	
– moyenne	44	40,74	52	48,15	1,19	
– oblique	6	5,56	14	12,96	3,51	
17. Hauteur du menton	136		136			-0,13
– bas	12	8,82	20	14,71	2,26	
– moyen	79	58,09	72	52,94	0,73	
– haut	45	33,09	44	32,35	0,02	
18. Contour du menton	114		114			0,21*
– marqué	86	75,44	63	55,26	10,20*	
– moyen	20	17,54	45	39,47	13,39*	
– estompé	8	7,02	6	5,26	0,30	

(suite du Tableau 1)

19. Position du menton par rapport au plan facial	137		137			0,07
– retiré	26	19,98	33	24,09	1,05	
– au niveau	72	52,55	81	59,12	1,19	
– proéminent	39	28,47	23	16,79	5,32*	
20. Division du menton	136		136			0,02
– accentuée	18	13,24	12	8,82	1,34	
– faible	63	46,32	26	19,12	22,78*	
– pas divisé	55	40,44	98	72,06	27,52*	
Caractère et phénotypes	Hommes		Femmes		χ^2	r
	n		n			
	%		%			
21. Forme de la lèvre dermique supérieure	130		130			-0,25*
– droite	75	57,69	41	31,54	17,92*	
– convexe	9	6,92	2	1,54	4,63*	
– concave	46	35,38	87	66,92	25,78*	
22. Hauteur de la lèvre dermique supérieure	133		133			-0,13
– haute	44	33,08	22	16,54	9,72*	
– moyenne	59	44,36	57	42,86	0,06	
– basse	30	22,56	54	40,60	9,98*	
23. Épaisseur des lèvres muqueuses	137		137			-0,15
– épaisses	32	23,36	36	26,28	0,31	
– moyennes	71	51,82	69	50,36	0,06	
– fines	34	24,82	32	23,36	0,08	
24. Grandeur de la fente orale	136		136			0,13
– petite	30	22,06	19	13,97	3,00	
– moyenne	74	54,41	69	50,74	0,37	
– grand	32	23,53	48	35,29	4,52*	
25. Grandeur de l'oreille externe	137		137			0,01
– grande	25	18,25	8	5,84	9,92*	
– moyenne	84	61,31	90	65,29	0,56	
– petite	28	20,44	39	28,47	2,38	
26. Conformation de l'oreille externe	137		137			0,18*
– brachymorphe	7	5,11	12	8,76	1,41	
– mésomorphe	82	59,85	56	40,88	9,83*	
– leptomorphe	48	35,04	69	50,36	6,55*	
27. Grandeur du lobule	137		137			0,22*
– petit	44	32,12	42	30,66	0,07	
– moyen	79	57,66	80	58,39	0,01	
– grand	14	10,22	15	10,95	0,04	
28. Adhérence du lobule	137		137			0,04
– adhérent	19	13,87	35	25,55	5,88*	
– partiellement	30	21,90	26	19,98	0,36	
– détaché	88	64,23	76	55,47	2,18	

(suite du Tableau 1)

29. Forme des cheveux	137		137			0,07
– rectilignes	24	17,52	39	28,47	4,62*	
– moins ondulés	104	75,91	95	69,34	1,48	
– en boucles	9	6,57	3	2,19	3,13	
30. Pigmentation des cheveux (échelle Fischer-Saller)	137		137			-0,07
– claire	4	2,92	5	3,65	0,11	
– intermédiaire-claire	28	20,44	40	29,20	2,81	
– intermédiaire-foncée	40	29,20	47	34,31	0,82	
– foncée	65	47,45	45	32,85	6,05*	
Caractère et phénotypes	Hommes		Femmes		χ^2	r
	n	%	n	%		
31. Pigmentation de l'iris (échelle Martin-Schultz)	137		137			-0,15
– claire	18	13,14	17	12,41	0,03	
– intermédiaire-claire	20	14,60	17	12,41	0,28	
– intermédiaire-foncée	85	62,04	81	59,12	0,24	
– foncée	14	10,22	22	16,06	2,04	
32. Combinaisons pigmentaires	137		137			-0,10
– claires-claire	14	10,22	20	14,60	1,20	
– claires-foncé	16	11,68	27	19,71	3,23	
– foncés-claire	24	17,52	15	10,95	2,41	
– foncés-foncé	83	60,58	75	54,74	0,95	

* différences statistiquement significatives

La forme des cheveux est faiblement ondulée. Concernant la pigmentation, les cheveux sont prédominant foncées en variant faiblement et également vers les nuances intermédiaires foncées et/ou claires. La pigmentation de l'iris est intermédiaire-foncée. Le complexe pigmentaire iris-cheveux est généralement harmonique, la plupart des combinaisons étant entre les nuances foncées (intermédiaire-foncées et foncées...).

2. DIMORPHISME SEXUEL (tableau 1, figures 1 et 2)

Conformément aux différences statistiquement significatives, par rapport aux hommes, les femmes ont, en général, des traits plus délicates, celles-ci conservant beaucoup de caractéristiques infantiles. Les femmes de notre échantillon ont un occiput un peu plus bombé, le front plus droit, le contour facial oval et plus adouci. Les pommettes sont plus proéminentes à une orientation temporale. Le nez a une racine plus haute et plus large, le profil droit et plus fréquemment concave et le septum davantage ascendant. Les sourcils sont plus étroits et fréquemment indépendants. Le chargement de la paupière supérieure est plus réduit, la fente palpébrale est plus

large et d'oblicité plus fréquente. Le menton a un contour moyennement marqué, fréquemment retiré et sans division. La lèvre dermique supérieure est prédominante concave, la fente orale est faiblement plus grande. Les oreilles sont plus petites, plus fréquemment leptomorphes et le lobule est fréquemment adhérent.

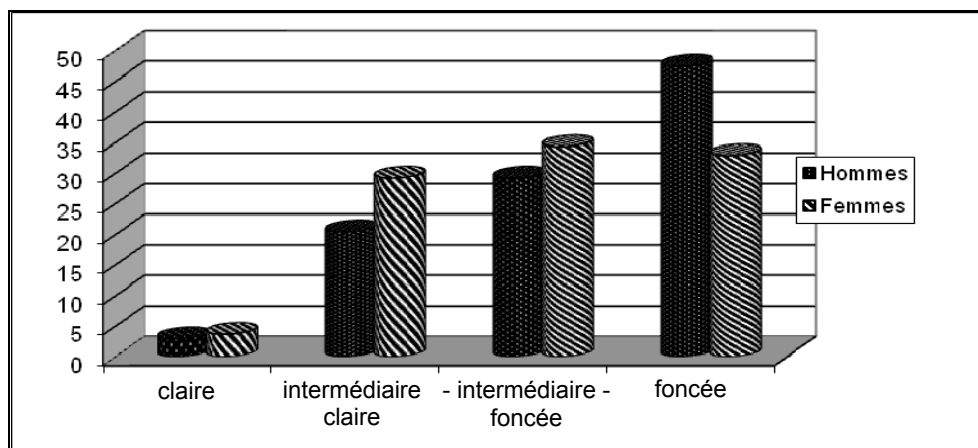


Figure 1. Pigmentation des cheveux.

Les cheveux ont fréquemment la forme droite et la pigmentation faiblement foncée.

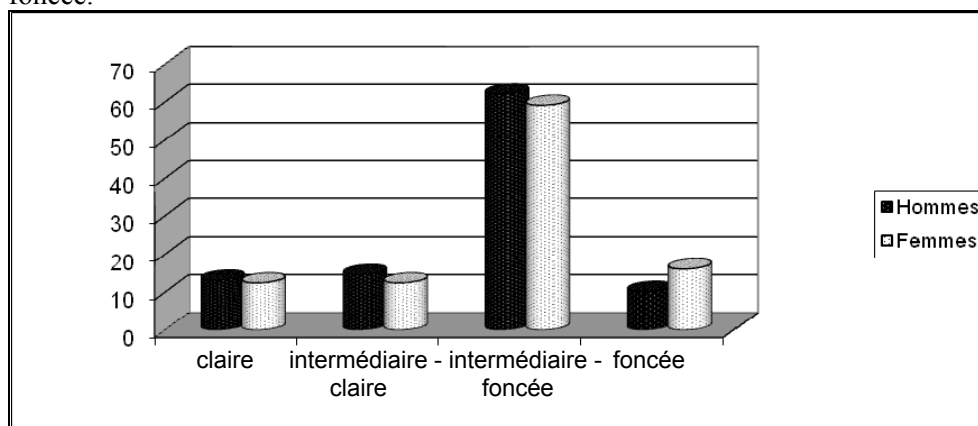


Figure 2. Pigmentation de l'iris.

En ce qui concerne l'assortiment matrimonial prouvé par les corrélations dont les coefficients sont statistiquement significatifs, on peut noter des ressemblances au niveau de la branche mandibulaire, le contour du menton, la forme de l'oreille et la grandeur du lobule. Les paires réalisent des corrélations significatives, mais négatifs pour le chargement de la paupière supérieure et la forme de la lèvre

dermique supérieure. Un travail antérieur consignait des corrélations significatives positives avec l'âge et négatives avec le niveau d'instruction.

3. APPRÉCIATIONS COMPARATIVES CONCERNANT D'AUTRES POPULATIONS (figures 3–7)

Comparativement aux données provisoires synthétisées par nous en 2011 concernant les aspects morphologiques de certaines populations roumaines, nous avons trouvé chez notre échantillon, entre les limites du nombre des caractères considérés, quelques différences.

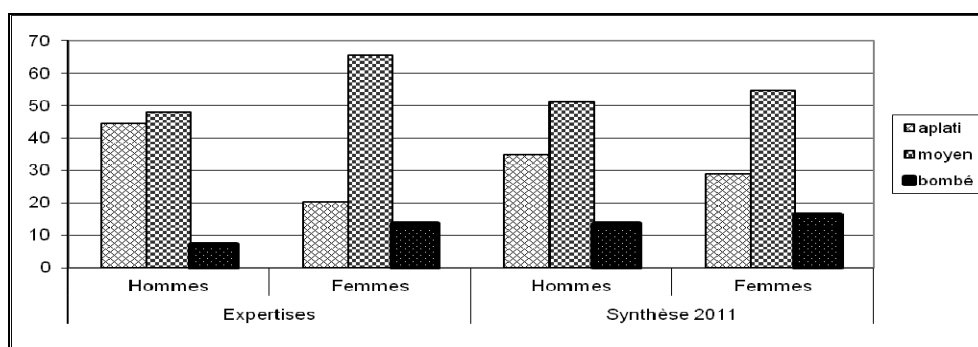


Figure 3. Forme de l'occiput.

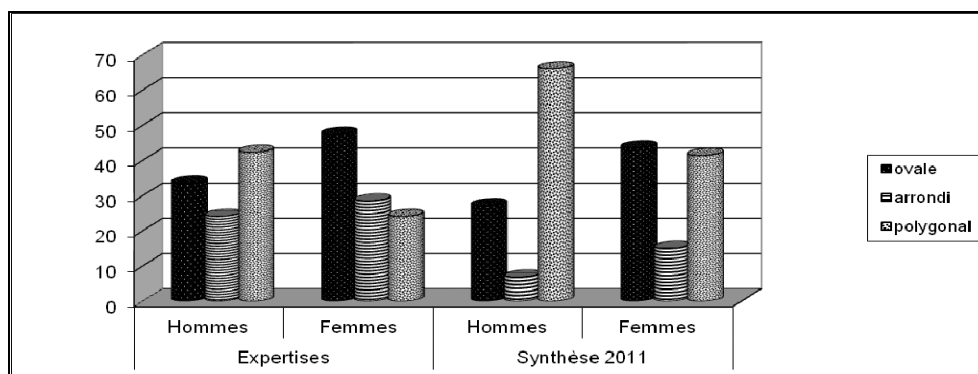


Figure 4. Contour du visage.

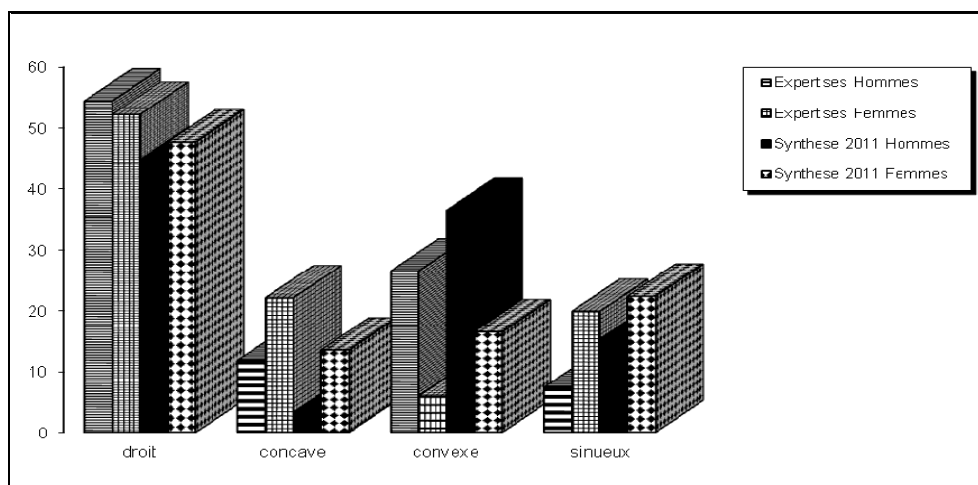


Figure 5. Profil du nez.

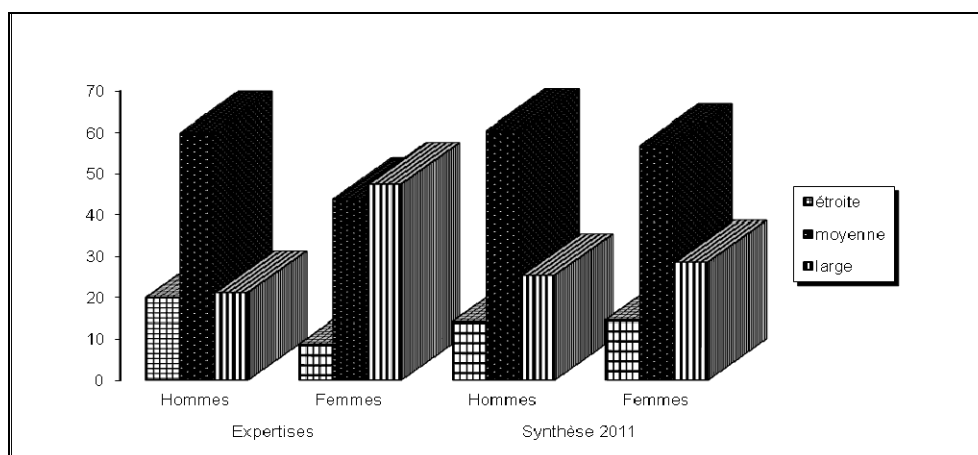


Figure 6. Ouverture de la fente palpébrale.

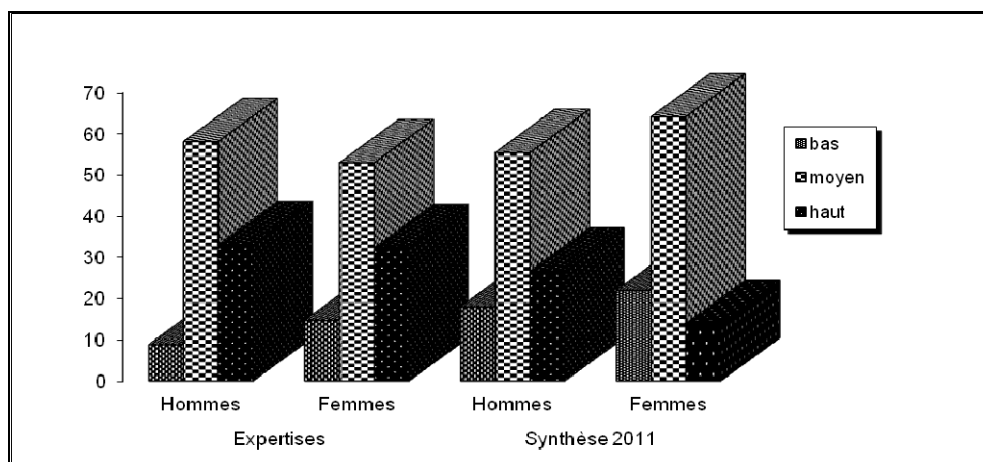


Figure 7. Hauteur du menton.

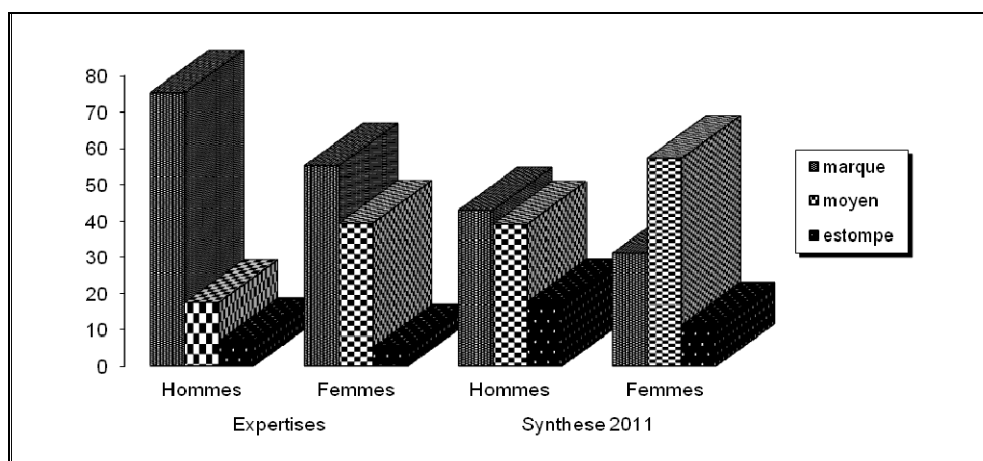


Figure 8. Contour du menton.

Concernant les deux sexes, le front est plus droit, la face plus arrondie et plus adoucie, la branche mandibulaire moins oblique, mais la fente palpébrale faiblement plus oblique et la lèvre dermique supérieure plus concave. Selon le sexe, chez les hommes de notre série les pommettes sont faiblement plus frontalisées, la racine du nez plus basse et la lèvre dermique supérieure plus haute. Chez les femmes de notre série on trouve plus de différences concernant les pommettes plus proéminentes, la racine nasale plus haute, le profil du nez plus droit et concave, la fente palpébrale plus large, le menton plus haut et faiblement plus retiré, la lèvre dermique supérieure plus concave et plus basse.

CONCLUSIONS

Une caractérisation générale des Roumains selon les caractères morphologiques et pigmentaires constitue pour les anthropologues un objectif gnoséologique mais aussi une appréciation de l'unité en diversité des populations roumaines de cet espace éco-géographique complexe. La connaissance de la morphologie et pigmentation d'un individu et/ou d'une population a un relèvement bio-médical et socio-culturel.

Les phénotypes morphologiques et pigmentaires prédominants, qui décrivent les «types moyens» des hommes et des femmes de notre échantillon provenus de tout le pays, confirment la diagnose estimée par Olga Necrasov (Rome, 1970) concernant les Roumains et aussi leur appartenance à la typologie anthropologique européenne. Notre travail s'inscrit opportunément parmi les études concernant la figure humaine, études qui peuvent être comprises dans les «anthropologies panoramiques» dont parlait le professeur Victor Săhleanu (Săhleanu 1996 : 37–65).

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THE DYNAMICS OF ANTHROPOLOGIC MARKERS AMONG ROMANIAN TEENAGERS BETWEEN 1978–1999

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The idea of silhouette has changed in the last 50 years. The most sensitive to this request are teenagers and especially girls. They go through all kinds of diets to achieve their ideal – that of being very slim. Thus we have reached a major change of average values, calculated for national standards. At girls the accelerated growth appears for height, but not for weight, too. From average values of weight of 55 kilograms (kg) for 17 years old teenagers (in 1978) the average level is of 54.338 kg in 1999. The dropping of the average value is maintained for the age of 18 – the average drops from 55.2 kg in 1978 to 54.591 kg in 1999. The differences according to family's origin (urban/ rural) are cancelled or even reversed. In 1999 the average weight value for females, 18 years old, urban area is of 54.591 kg, and in rural of 56 kg.

Key words: silhouette, diet, weight value, body image, girls.

INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a time described by important changes of the body which will gradually lead to gaining one's own identity (Godeau et al. 2008: 119). It is a phenomenon which goes through more stages represented by: growing self awareness, denying infantile identity, choosing a new identity and building/imposing/socially accepting it (Gavăt et al. 2006: 289). Growing self awareness implies varying inner life and changing it into an agent of controlling the socializing process. Denying infantile identity implies rejecting infantile guardianship relationships. Choosing a new identity means looking for "appropriate" models and identifying themselves with them. Finally, a case of independent expression is reached, when the teenager wants to be appreciated and seen as a unique person (Buzdugan 2006).

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In this study the stress is on the stage of choosing a new identity, stage which implies choosing a model and identifying themselves with him. Teenagers are tempted to choose famous actors, top sportsmen, television people as models. It is a case in which the problem of physical appearance is more and more significant (Calza and Contant 1999).

A normal young woman is 1.65-1.70 cm tall and 65–70 kg, whereas a model is over 1.75 cm tall and 50 kg. In this context, the teenage girl might have an average height and an appropriate weight, but her body shape is far from her ideal. The same problem occurs at males because teenagers dream of having an athletic body-build, with clean-cut muscle mass. Teenagers judge themselves according to these models and end up seeing themselves as being fat, with no special qualities, even if they have a nice appearance and an appropriate weight. Mass media plays an important role in the occurrence of the problems related to body shape (Craggs-Hinton 2006).

The image every person about his own body shape implies perception, imagination, feelings and physical sensations he has. In general, there are two ways of perceiving your own body (Bruchon-Schweitzer 1990: 174). The first way sees the body starting from its three-dimensional characteristics, also being identified as body's "spatial image". The second way is represented by the "emotional" image, because it includes perceptions, views and feelings regarding one's own body (Albu et al. 2006).

The studies made until now in different countries allowed the detection of a raised number of females which are unhappy with their own body. There are many people who have a positive image of their body, who have a real perception of their weight and shapes and feel good in their own body, even if their silhouette is not of a perfect body (according to reckoners). There are also people who have a negative image of their own silhouette even though it fits well-established reckoners (Guillbert et al. 2004).

In this context we ask: what does idea of own silhouette really mean? This idea implies an opinion regarding: own body-build, some areas of the body, how we are seen by others, present social environment.

If the person evaluates the idea regarding own silhouette we can reach a negative result because of thighs too thick or breasts too small. Teenagers and especially girls frequently come to such conclusions. Sometimes the general body-build is acceptable, but there are parts which do not fit the standards and should be changed (too big nose, too thin lips). The way in which each individual is seen by others is very important during adolescence. A fatter or with health problems teenager risks being excluded from his group of friends, which is a great tragedy for the teenager (Braconnier 1999). The present social environment is very important because nowadays slim girls and well-built boys are appreciated.

CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

In Romania there is few information regarding the impact of body image on teenagers' anthropometric markers. Weight variations have become a public health problem. The lost or accumulation of fat, referring to height, sex, age, contributes to the biological individual's vulnerability (Glavce et al. 2008).

It is obsessively insisting on the issue of obesity, neglecting the risks of sub nutrition appearing due to of a low or very low nourishment. Wishing to identify himself/herself with his/her model, the teenage girl/boy starves or goes to miraculous diets until he/she gets sick (Maillet, 1997).

Even if there aren't too many studies in this field, we can evaluate the phenomenon starting from national reference values (national standards). They should be interpret dynamically and very carefully. The reference values are given by a effective measurement of a statistically significant group of children in our country. After that, the average values for height/weight and standard variation are calculated according to age, gender and environment (Papalia and Olds, 1990:509).

STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

To do this study, we started from the reference values for weight and height, values also known as national standards. Starting from the values obtained throughout the years, it was possible to outline two phenomena represented by: accelerated growth and different evolution according to the family's origins (Bardov 2009:391). The interpretation will be done for a period of 21 years (1978, 1985 and 1999), taking into account only boys and girls of 17, 18 years. National standards are done by measuring and weighting a statistically significant group of teenagers from a certain country or region. After that the average value and standard variation are calculated, which allows the completion of sigmatic gaps (Bucur 1986: 92; Mănescu 1986: 267)

This study will accomplish a dynamic evaluation of the average values obtained in 1978, 1985 and 1999, which will allow us to outline the changes for the anthropometric markers, starting from the idea of silhouette.

DISCUSSION

The studies on population in time allowed us to identify two very important phenomena represented by the accelerated growth and different evolution according to the family's origins.

ACCELERATED GROWTH

This phenomenon was marked out using anthropometric measurements, showing a faster growth and ageing of children. Nowadays, children's weight and height at birth are bigger than the values 30-40 years ago. In the last decades, puberty comes more rapidly (average age of menarche has dropped from 15 to 13 and a half years old), and growth stops earlier (from 18 compared to 21 years old 30-40 years ago). The phenomenon is present worldwide, except some isolated populations, such as Xingu Indians in Brazil and Zapotec in Mexico (at least for the period 1980-1989) (Eveleth and Tanner 1990:147).

Accelerated growth recorded on our population as well, but the last evaluation shows some changes, especially for girls living in cities (Table 1).

Table 1

Accelerated growth phenomenon – urban

sex	Age in years	Standardization year		
		weight		
		1978	1985	1999
girl	17	55.0	54.8	54.338
	18	55.2	55.9	54.591
boys	17	63.1	63.3	63.473
	18	65.3	66.0	65.82
		height		
girl	17	161.8	162.7	163.814
	18	162.1	163.4	163.814
boys	17	174.2	175.0	174.852
	18	175.5	176.3	176.481

For males, aged 17, there is a growth of height from an average of 174.2 cm (in 1978) to 174.852 cm in 1999, and for 18 years old from 175.5 cm (in year 1978) to 176.481 in year 1999. These results confirm the presence of the phenomenon of accelerated growth for height for males. Weight evolves at the age of 17, from an average of 63.1 kg to 63.473 kg, and at 18 from 65.3 kg to 65.82 kg. Even though the differences are very small, they exist and they outline a small acceleration of growth (Bucur 1986:92).

Surprising results were recorded in female for which values of height grow, but those of weight drop. At the age of 17 the evolution of average values for height is from 161.8 cm to 163.814 cm, so there is a difference of 2 cm in a period of 21 years. Instead weight drops constantly, average values in 1978 are of 55.0 kg, dropping to 54.8 in 1985 and to 54.338 in 1999. A worrying phenomenon appears, and it is represented by the growth of height associated with the regular drop of weight. It is important to have another study on a different age group, because there might be a change particular to girls of 17 (Vlaicu 1994).

The average values for height at 18 years grow from 162.1 cm (in 1978) to an average value of 164.023 cm in 1999. For height, at girls, we can notice the presence of accelerated growth phenomenon. Weight raises major problems because it doesn't grow, but it drops, and this guides us to a dependent change of the body image. There is a decrease of average values from an average level of 55.2 kg in 1978 to 54.591 kg in 1999 (Vasilov 2001).

The results appear because of the change of silhouette's image. History allowed an evaluation of beauty's image evolution, especially for females. The oldest representation of human form is in "Venus of Willendorf" (statue dating from years 2000–3000 before Christ) and it represents a fat woman with a fat stomach. Pre-historic Egyptian, Babylonian and Greek sculptures show a special choice for over-weighted woman, image associated with food abundance, thus with an evolving society, which didn't struggle with poverty. Starting with the 60's of last century, we notice a major change of silhouette's image, worshipping thin woman (body sizes closer to 90–60–90) (Craggs-Hinton 2006:14).

This change was rapidly perceived by teenagers who started intensively, even obsessively, taking care of their body, of associated diet, reducing the national reference average values for weight (WHO 2000).

DIFFERENT GROWTH ACCORDING TO FAMILY'S ORIGIN

Physical growth of children living in urban areas is superior to those living in rural areas. It is a phenomenon present worldwide, except children and teenagers living in Australia and North America, where these differences do not exist (Eveleth and Tanner 1990: 191).

The factors directly interfering in obtaining a different growth according to family's origin (urban/ rural) are not known. It is known that there are differences, even big ones, thus it is needed a differentiated standardization. A difference of average height values of about 8 cm appears at boys, aged 18, difference that is quite high (Știrbu et al. 2003) (Table 2).

For males, the obtained results are not relevant. Height values are constantly higher in urban areas, compared to rural areas. It is noticed the presence of a very interesting phenomenon, that of growth of differences values. In 1978 the differences between average height values are of 6.2 cm, goes to 7.76 in 1985 and remains at 7.652 cm in 1999. For weight, the differences remain at a similar level, being of 5.2 kg in 1978, 5.5 kg in 1985 and 5.6 kg in 1999 (Mănescu 1986: 267).

For males, the obtained results are not relevant. Height values are constantly higher in urban areas, compared to rural areas. It is noticed the presence of a very interesting phenomenon, that of growth of differences values. In 1978 the differences between average height values are of 6.2 cm, goes to 7.76 in 1985 and remains at 7.652 cm in 1999. For weight, the differences remain at a similar level, being of 5.2 kg in 1978, 5.5 kg in 1985 and 5.6 kg in 1999 (Mănescu 1986: 267).

Table 2

Different growth according to environment and gender – masculine

sex	Age in years	Standardization year		
		weight		
		1978	1985	1999
urban	17	63.1	63.3	63.473
	18	65.3	66.0	65.820
rural	17	57.9	57.81	57.8
	18	60.8	61.35	61.3
		height		
urban	17	174.2	175.0	174.852
	18	175.5	176.3	176.481
rural	17	168.0	167.24	167.2
	18	169.3	168.86	168.8

It's necessary to continue the study for the age of 18, in order to accomplish a correct evaluation of results (the situation maintains or it was a random observation). In 1978 the calculated difference for height average values is of 6.2 cm and it grows in the next stages to 7.44 cm (in 1985) and 7.68 cm (in 1999) (Vasilov 2001). In fact it appears a bigger growth at first followed by a smaller one. The study on the evolution of weight average values shows some special cases. The calculated differences, according to family's origin, vary from 4.5 kg in 1978 to 4.65 in 1985 (Vlaicu 1994).

The results are different for females, especially at the age of 18 years. The average height of girls of 17 grows with 2.9 cm in urban areas compared to rural areas in 1978. The differences remain unchanged in 1985, but in 1999 there is a growth that reaches 4 cm. The only problems occurring are those concerning the evolution of weight. In 1978 the difference between its average values in urban areas compared to rural is only of 1 kg. The value reaches 0.8 kg in 1985 and only 0.4 kg in 1999 (Table 3).

While the height level grows in urban areas compared to rural areas, the weight level drops, appearing closer average values (at 18 years old girls). In urban areas the image of silhouette is very important, thus we notice a major decrease of individual values of weight associated with the decrease of national average values (Cordeanu et al. 2008).

The results are clearer for the age of 18. In 1978 the average value in urban areas is of 55.2 kg and grows in rural areas to 55.7 kg. In fact, it is an unexpected situation where rural area has a bigger average value of weight for a smaller average value of height. A similar result appears in 1985 when we notice an average value in urban areas of 55.9 kg, close to the one in rural areas, reaching 56.06 kg. The result is worrying in 1999 when the average weight level in urban areas drops to 54.591 kg, outlining a difference of 1.5 kg less than the result in rural areas.

These drops of weight are determined by girls' wish of getting closer and closer to the present beauty ideal, that of a slim, almost skeletal person.

Table 3

Different growth according to environment and gender – females

sex	Age in years	Standardization year		
		weight		
		1978	1985	1999
urban	17	55.0	54.8	54.338
	18	55.2	55.9	54.591
rural	17	54.0	53.98	53.9
	18	55.7	56.06	56.0
		height		
urban	17	161.8	162.7	163.814
	18	162.1	163.4	164.023
rural	17	158.9	159.82	159.8
	18	159.8	161.08	161.0

CONCLUSIONS

A fast intervention of school medicine specialists and families is required in order to stop or reduce this phenomenon. In some western countries measures were taken by banning exaggeratedly slim models to walk on the catwalk. In our country the measures required to solve this problem do not exist, the situation is even worsened by the demands regarding the growth of obesity among teenagers. In fact, even since 1978 girls have started identifying themselves with a thinner and thinner body build, which caused the gradual decrease of average values for body weight. Specialists have ignored this phenomenon and they still do, which is very critical.

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THE CHINESE MIGRANT WOMEN AND THEIR CHILDREN IN THE WESTERN WORLD

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Objective: to determine if there exists, among the Chinese firstly-newcomers, some cultural barriers to the adaptation to the Western food resources and the messages of maternal and infantile health. **Methods:** 110 women living in France and 152 women living in Spain, born in Zhejiang (Chinese province), and aged between 18 and 40 years, were followed since the beginning of their pregnancy until the childbirth (longitudinal study). Moreover, 70 women gave us details on the food of their child since birth (longitudinal study). The analyzed variables (anthropometry, food behaviour) made it possible to evaluate the nutritional status of the women and the future mothers. Eighty one percent of the Chinese women have a “normal” body mass index, 15% have a weight insufficiency and 4% have an overweight. The gestational weight gain and the birth-weight of the children are satisfactory. The food pattern, of traditional type, is characterized by low consumption of meat, and an increased consumption of dairy products. In conclusion, one notices the acquisition of negative practices unknown before immigration: consumption of alcohol and tobacco. Knowledge of the food practices of this community is important because it will facilitate understanding of the possible health problems related to nutritional imbalances. The precise knowledge of the dietary habits of the migrants allows useful preventive actions.

Key words: food, health, Chinese women, children, migration.

INTRODUCTION

The intensification of the East-West migratory movements deeply modifies the economic Europe. Among those, the increasing importance of displacements of Chinese populations (very or little qualified) redraws the European job market and traces contours of new economic and social spaces. These “new migrations” reveal the process of universalization of the individual and collective routes of the migrants (Roulleau-Berger 2007).

In addition to the massive arrival of migrants in Western Europe, by the family regrouping and by the clandestine migration, the number of Chinese migrants

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increases with the people coming for their business or their studies. As well in France as in Spain, the new arrivals come in majority from Zhejiang, a province located in the South-East of China (Beltran Antolin 1997; International Organization for Migration, 2002; Pina-Guerassimoff et al., 2002; Poisson, 2004). The Chinese migration in Europe tends to be feminized and, among the firstly-newcomers, the women (54%) are today more numerous than the men (46%). In addition, the ages 20-29 years and 30-39 years being numerically more important, the women in age to procreate are numerous and particularly require the attention of the medical departments of maternal and infantile prevention.

The objective of this study is to determine if there exists, among the Chinese firstly-newcomers, cultural barriers to the adaptation of the women, of the mothers and of their children, to the Western food resources and to the recommendations of health (Loue, 1998). The cultural barriers limiting the access to the Western health systems could be due to the linguistic difficulties (Edwards, 1994; Bourdillon et al., 1991) or to the conceptualization of health and of disease. Indeed, the Asian people conceptualize health and the disease differently (compared to the Western people) and our health-care system can seem inadequate to them. For them, the disease is the result of an imbalance caused not only by pathogenic causes or heredity, but also by an inappropriate environment, shame, the divine punishment, or a combination of all that (Chin, 1992; Jenkins, 1996; Kim et Rew, 1994; Zane et al., 2004). We thus analyzed certain aspects of the quality of life of the women and of the children of Chinese origin recently living in France and in Spain, in order to consider their nutritional status and to evaluate their food habits. The aim of this study is to know better the situation of this population and to understand how the women and the children can be informed and helped in their efforts to maintain a balanced food essential to the growth of the young people and the safeguarding of the health of all. This step can be used as reference in other host countries, and other community.

This work was authorized and approved by the Direction of the Social Action of Childhood and Health and by the Direction of Prevention and Social Action.

METHODS

This work was based on an investigation (in France and in Spain) of dietary habits carried out in public health centres for women and their children. The physicians explained the aim of our investigation and asked the women whether they wished to take part. The confidentiality of the interviews and the anonymity of the people (the women and the children) were always scrupulously respected.

The analyzed sample was composed of 262 women born in Popular Republic of China (in the province of Zhejiang) and living now in a Western metropolis (Madrid in Spain or Paris in France). They were old from 18 to 40 years at the time of the investigation (mean: 27.1 years $\pm$ 4.3 years) and thus they all were in age to procreate and to have a professional activity. Forty of them were pregnant at the time of the study and their pregnancy was followed until the birth of the child

(weight gain of the mother and state of the new-born at the birth). All the women agreed to take part in an anthropo-biological investigation and a food behavior investigation. Seventy mothers agreed to answer an interview concerning the food consumption of their children aged of less than 6 years.

This study includes:

- an evaluation of the nutritional status of the women and children: by the direct somatic characteristics (height, weight) and derived (percentage of fatty mass compared to the total weight). The body mass index ($BMI = \text{Weight}/\text{Height}^2$), is commonly employed in anthropo-biology, because it makes it possible to evaluate the nutritional status of the individuals. Dependent to the weight and to the fatty mass, it is independent of the height and makes it possible to evaluate overweight and under-weight (Rolland-Cachera et al., 1996). For the pregnant women (the 40 selected women were confined at term, i.e. between 37 and 41 weeks of amenorrhoea), the weight-gain and the percentages of BMI-gain were compared with those of the French and Spanish women.

- a food consumption study: of the women, in frequencies over one week of follow-up: the great groups of food, the feeding of the new-borns (breast-feeding, duration, weaning), and a recall of consumption of the last 24 hours of the children.

- an estimate of the energy and nutritional daily intakes: of the women and their infants. The individual analysis of the daily consumptions was carried out by taking account of the composition of the menus and the quantities introduced at the time of each meal. This made it possible to evaluate the average contributions for the considered population, and to compare them with the contributions advised according to the age (Martin, 2001).

RESULTS

The women

- The nutritional status: with an average height of 156.9 cm $\pm$ 3.9 cm and an average weight of 51.3 kg $\pm$ 4.1 kg, the average BMI of the Chinese women = 20.8 kg/m² $\pm$ 1.5 (Prado et al., 2006), significantly lower than that of the European women (Table 1) (Prado et al., 2004). The percentage of body fat accumulated compared to the total weight represents on average 29.9% $\pm$ 2.4%, i.e. a rate of body fat relatively important. But only 3.5% of the women have a percentage of body fat exceeding 33% of the total weight, considered as representative a risk (Durning et Womersley, 1974). Thus, there exists among these women a normal BMI with a body fat relatively high (Gallagher et al., 2000).
- Food behaviours: the food is a cultural fact, therefore social, which shapes our behaviours. Because it has a “vital space” in the life of individuals and groups, food is deeply linked to the culture. It is the support of rituals, legends, and it is also used to communicate with gods. Food cultures are therefore based on certain rules adopted by each society to meet not only

the biological requirements of the human beings, but to their symbolical needs. The “paradox of omnivore”, is precisely the ability of the humans to eat anything and its propensity to comply with social rules prohibiting the consumption of certain foods (Fischler, 1990). Eating behaviors are induced by the “symbolic value” assigned to food.

Table 1

Compared biometrics of the Chinese migrant women, the French women and Spanish women
(M = mean; σ = standard deviation)

French women			Spanish women		Chinese women	
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ
Height (cm)	163.8	6.8	158.5	5.2	156.9	3.9
Weight (kg)	59.6	10.6	56.9	7.8	51.3	4.1
BMI (kg/m ²)	22.1	3.8	22.6	3.4	20.8	2.5

- In the Asian society, to eat makes it possible to balance energies of the body and to ensure health (Fouatih, 2006). Are the traditional patterns maintained among the migrant women? The food patterns of each woman were analyzed individually. It is known that the introduction of new foods depends largely on the lack of traditional products of the place of origin of the migrants (Aranceta et al., 1995). In the Chinese migrant population, as well in France as in Spain, there exists a very dynamic trade of procurement of Chinese products, which allows the maintenance of the traditional dietary habits. The women were interviewed on their weekly consumption of the great groups of food: fish, meat, eggs, bread, pasta, rice, fruit and vegetables, dairy products (Table 2). They were also asked what they used to consume in their country of origin, before their migration, in order to evaluate the changes.

Table 2

Percentage (%) of Chinese women consuming these groups of food/week

Frequency	Fish	Meat	Eggs	Pastes/rice	Bread	Fruits/veget.	Dairy pr.
Never	0	0	1.9	2.7	42.3	0	32.7
< once	0	0	0	17.3	1.9	0	26.9
1–2 times	25.4	55.8	61.5	71.2	40.4	0	30.8
3–4 times	74.6	44.2	36.5	5.0	7.7	5.0	5.8
> 4 times	0	0	0	3.8	7.7	95.0	3.8

- The usual consumption of fish, meat and eggs did not change in the context of the migration. One does not observe either significant change in the ingestion of the fruits and the vegetables which are consumed daily, as in the traditional pattern. One does not observe significant modification in the intakes of carbohydrates, but 3.8% of the women replaced rice by pasta products.

- A special mention must be made for the dairy products: 32.7% of the women never consume any, proportion significantly higher than that of the French or Spanish women. However, one notes a significant change of the practices according to the duration of residence in Europe. Indeed, if 34% of the women having less than 5 years of residence in Europe include dairy products in their food, they are 60% to incorporate them when they have resided for more than 5 years in the host country. The difference is significant ($\chi^2 = 11.46$, $p < 0.005$). The emergence of a new behavior is also noted: the alcohol consumption. Among the migrant women of this study, none consumed alcoholic drink before its arrival in Europe. However, the practice to drink beer, wine, and even occasionally strongly alcoholic drinks, is propagated and accentuated with the duration of the stay in Occident (6.3% for the duration < 5 years, 41.1% for the duration > 5 years).
- The nutritional intakes: The energy needs of the women are covered, with an average daily contribution estimated at 2248 kilocalories $\pm$ 147 kilocalories, higher than the energy contribution advised for the French women aged from 20 to 50 years (Feinberg, 2001). Balance between macro-nutrients (proteins, lipids, glucids) is assured.
- Pregnancy and nutritional status: among the women of Chinese origin in this sample, 40 were pregnant during the study and their nutritional status was followed throughout pregnancy, until the childbirth. To ensure the success of a pregnancy and to give birth at term to a child with satisfactory birth-weight (equal or higher than 2500 g) depend mainly on an antenatal status (health, nutrition), and even ante-gestational status, of the mother (Rovillé-Sausse, 2001). With a gestational weight-gain of 11.1 kg (Table 3), significantly lower than the weight-gain of European women (with the threshold of 5%), the BMI of the Chinese women increases on average by 21.6% of the initial value during the pregnancy, rate slightly lower than that of the French or Spanish women.

Table 3

Weight-gain and BMI-gain, BMI-increase (in %) / BMI before pregnancy among Chinese women compared to the French and the Spanish women (W1 = weight before pregnancy; W2= weight at the end of the pregnancy; BMI 1=BMI before pregnancy; BMI 2=BMI at the end of the pregnancy)
(M = mean; σ = standard deviation)

	French women		Spanish women		Chinese women	
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ
W2 - W1 (kg)	14.5	4.7	12.8	4.3	11.1	3.6
BMI 1 (kg/m^2)	22.1	3.8	22.6	3.4	20.8	2.5
BMI 2 (kg/m^2)	27.3	4.0	27.7	4.5	25.3	3.8
BMI 2 – BMI 1	5.2		5.1		4.5	
$[(\text{BMI}2-\text{BMI}1)/\text{BMI}1] \times 100$	23.5 %		22.6 %		21.6 %	

The children

- Nutritional status: it is noted that the average birth-weight (Table 4) and the average birth-BMI (Table 5) of the children of Chinese origin, born in Europe, are not statistically different from those of the children of French or Spanish mothers. But as from six months, the body mass index of the boys and the girls of Chinese origin is always higher than that of the European children of the study.

Table 4

Compared birthweights (in grams) (M = mean; σ = standard deviation)

	French newborns		Spanish newborns		Chinese newborns	
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ
Birth-weights	3371	508	3099	514	3316	476

Table 5

Compared body mass index (kg/m²) (B = Boys; G = Girls; * significant difference)

Age (months)	European B	Chinese B	European G	Chinese G
0	13.6	13.6	13.4	13.5
6	17.2	18.3*	16.8	17.8*
12	17.7	17.8	17.5	17.6
18	17.2	17.4	16.9	16.9

- Food behaviours: one can summarize the evolution of the food of the Western young children in three stages:
- The period of milk feeding: milk (maternal or in the form of dietetic lacteous food) is the only food recommended during the first six months of the life, gradual diversification: as from six months, the vegetables, fruits, then the meat, the fish and the eggs, as well as the carbohydrates, are introduced gradually into the food. Milk keeps a dominating place.
- The food is theoretically completely diversified during the second year.
- It is noted that 10% of the children of Chinese origin, in the sample studied, profit from the breast-feeding (60% of the Western newborns). This difference is significant (Khi²: p=0.0001). Among the 90% Chinese mothers who do not nurse their child, 20% think that the cow's milk is more nutritive. The others do not have time to breast-feed their children because they are very busy professionally, and the grandmothers take care of children. Among the consulted mothers, 50% had already had a child in China before their migration and allowed us to compare the dietary habits in China with those which they adopted since their residence in Western Europe (Table 6). The late introduction of vegetables and fruits (around 10 months) and complete

diversification at nearly 30 months represent a food pattern very different from the Western pattern, and very near to the Chinese pattern. The only notorious change since the migration is the generalized abandonment of the breast-feeding, replaced during nearly 10 months by dietetic lacteous food and rice pulps (Rovillé-Sausse, 2003). From two years (Table 7), only 36% of the children of Chinese origin regularly consume fruits and vegetables twice a day (33% practically never introduce any and have a little varied food composed of fish or meat and rice) and the majority consume little amount of milk or dairy products (72% take only one dairy product per day and 8% do not consume any more and the breakfast is then composed of a bowl of rice or noodles).

Table 6

Age (in months) of introduction of various food among children
(M = mean; σ = standard deviation)

	European children		Chinese children in Europa		Chinese children in China	
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ
Breastfeeding	6.0	1.5	–		13.8	4.8
Introd. fruit-vegetables	6.0	1.8	9.8	3.9	13.0	4.5
Introduction meat	6.0	2.3	12.2	3.0	13.0	4.5
Completely diversified food	16.4	3.8	26.2	6.9	29.2	9.2

Table 7

Percentages of children (%) consuming daily these groups of food

Frequency	Dairy products	Fruits and vegetables
never	8	33
1 / day	72	31
2 / day	18	36
3 / day	2	0

- From the anthropometric point of view, the Chinese women living in France and in Spain are smaller and especially more thinner, have a BMI lower than that of the European women (20.8 kg/m^2), however within the limits defining a normal weight ($18.5 < \text{BMI} < 25 \text{ kg/m}^2$). Fifteen percent present an energy deficit ($\text{BMI} < 18.5 \text{ kg/m}^2$). No case of overweight/obesity is observed. According to data of FAO (FAO, 1999), resulting from a national study already old (Ge et al., 1992), the BMI means for the whole of the adult female population of more than 20 years in China is of $22.2 \pm 3.4 \text{ kg/m}^2$, with a prevalence of the weight insufficiency of 9.9% and one overweight of 17%.

- One can think that women who emigrated in a Western country for economic reasons had a nutritional status lower than the average in their country of origin and perhaps they formed part of the 9.9% Chinese women having an energy deficit in China. The woman in our sample maintain partially their traditional food pattern, with lot of vegetables and rice, bit of meat and sweet products. A diet low in energy and a very active professional life explain the absence of overweight among the studied women, recently arrived in France and in Spain.
- Literature reminds us that migrant women which have resided in a Western country for more than five years acquired new habits. Some are positive, like the increased consumption of the dairy products. In China, the milk and dairy products are little consumed. Milk is regarded as strengthening the infants, the pregnant women, the patients and the elderly (Mi Xiaosheng, 2002) and the people in good health do not drink any. The dairy products being the main source of calcium, the nutritional calcium intakes are insufficient for the people who do not consume any dairy product (32.7% of the adult women of this study). The intolerance with lactose of milk is not an explanation, because the disorders do not appear during the consumption of fermented dairy products (yoghourt, cheese). Contrary to an idea generally accepted, the soya milk is not a substitute of milk (Chevallier, 2007). It is low in calcium and certain amino-acids. Two practices negative for the health often appeared after the migration, and intensify with the duration of the residence in the host country: the consumption of alcohol and tobacco are in relation to the changes of lifestyle, to the increase of the stress in front of what is new, to the precarious situations (Brown and James, 2000). But these negative practices were not observed in the studied sample.
- During their pregnancy, the mothers from Zheijiang have a total weight-gain accounting for 20.9% of their pre-pregnancy weight. It is known (Haram et al., 1997) that a mean weight-gain during the pregnancy near to 20% of the initial weight offers to the newborns a better probability of an at term birth, with a satisfactory birth-weight (3316 g +/- 476 g in the studied population). The children born at time of Chinese mothers of this sample have a satisfying birth-weight, statistically not different from that of the Western new-borns.
- Ninety percent of the children were not breastfed. The immigrant Asian mothers living in Europe or in the USA seldom nurse their children (Tuttle et Dewey, 1994), the dietetic lacteous food (bottle milk) being perceived as better for health (Romero-Gwynn, 1989; Ghaemi-Ahmadi, 1992; Ikeda et al., 1991). However, it is known for a long time that the feeding pattern (breastfeeding or bottle feeding) has an influence on the growth (height and weight) of the children. Many analyses advance that human milk would have a preventive effect on the overweight and obesity, like on the respiratory

diseases and the cardiovascular diseases during childhood (human milk contains poly-unsaturated fatty-acids with long chain – AGPILC – and reduces significantly the blood pressure). In the Western countries, the BMI of the children nourished with dietetic lacteous food are statistically higher than that of the children nourished with the mother's milk (Offringa and Boersma, 1987). In this study, 27% of the children of 2-3 years have a BMI superior to the 90th percentile of European reference, i.e. they are in early overweight. Furthermore, the only floury porridges diet until 10 months exposes the children to an iron deficiency, and deficiencies in vitamins B1 and C (Gottrand et al., 1996). If the total energy intakes in the food of the Chinese children born in Western country are slightly lower than the recommendations, the imbalance between the intakes of the macro-nutrients could be blamed to explain the increase in the prevalence of the overweight (84% of children consume sweetened products and soft drinks every day!).

- In China (FAO, 1999), the nutritional status of the children deteriorates with the age, and more specially from three years. Prevalence of the weight insufficiency is always higher in rural areas than in urban areas. There are also differences of nutritional status between provinces, in connection with the socioeconomic level, the differences of food habits, the sanitary infrastructures and the communications.
- In the Zhejiang province, from which come the families from this study, 7.2% of the children under five years present an energy insufficiency and 5.3% are in overweight (rate significantly lower than that of the Chinese children born in France).
- Another change compared to the traditional food pattern is the adoption of sweetened drinks of soda type, consumed by 84% of the children (Rovillé-Sausse, 2005).
- Nutritional intakes in the diversified food of the Chinese children (Table 8): the average energy intakes (946 kcal +/- 250 kcal before 3 years, and 1307 kcal +/- 229 kcal between 4 and 6 years) are lower than the recommendations (Martin, 2001). Moreover, the estimated glucidic intakes are significantly higher than the recommendations, as in other populations today (Rovillé-Sausse 2007).

Table 8

Mean nutritional contributions estimated for the Chinese children between 4-6 years in Occident
(*: significant difference with threshold 4%; between brackets: standard deviation).

	Estimated contributions	Recommended contributions
Energy (kcal)	1307 (229)	1610
Protids (%)	18 (2)	12-14
Lipids (%)	25 (6)	30-35*
Glucids (%)	58 (6) glucids sample = 17% of total energy	50-55*

The sugar and sodium recommended contents for the children (according to the age) are not well defined. However, the strong consumption of sodas involves sugar and especially sodium intakes significantly more important than the only ingestion of fresh fruit juice (or water, of course), without any benefit in vitamins. The protids must account for 12 to 14% of the total energy contributions; they account here for 18%. The lipids must account for 30 to 35% (here 25%) and glucids 50 to 55% (here 58%). Moreover, if the simple and complex glucidic distribution is not scientifically established, the nutritionists agree to think that simple sugars should not represent more than 10% of the daily energy contribution, whatever the age. They are estimated in this sample at 17%.

DISCUSSION

In conclusion, one can notice that, whatever the reasons of immigration, whatever the socio-economic status of the immigrant families, the Chinese women seem adapted to the preventive health system in France and in Spain, even when they must overcome the problem of the linguistic barrier. Indeed, the majority of them speak only their maternal language and the interviews, and the paediatric consultations take place with an interpreter. This fact is not an obstacle to the frequentation of the health centres.

There is however a problem of overweight in the very young children, probably dependent partly on difficulties of perception of the multiple messages of health and nutrition sent to the young mothers.

It is very difficult to refer at the same time to the messages coming from the familiars (Chinese family or friends), to those of the Western health professionals, and to adapt the own food knowledge to the new and unknown products offered on the European markets. Thus, the families of Zhejiang recently living in a Western country are currently in a transitional period (both medical and nutritional and socio-cultural). Among the infants, certain dietary habits persist (such as relatively late diversification, the composition of the menus and the reduced consumption of dairy products), while new behaviours appear (such as the abandonment of the breast-feeding and the abusive sweetened beverage consumption). The behaviours evolve in time. The duration of the residence in the host country is a factor of westernization, which can be accompanied, in certain cases, by deterioration of certain indicators of health (Martin, 2001).

This is why the anthropological studies such as this work must be frequently renewed. The precise knowledge of the dietary habits of the migrant families allows extremely useful preventive actions and actions of information. A similar step is recommended in all the cases of social and cultural transition.

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THE MANY FACES OF GLOBALIZATION*

PETER KLOOS¹

INTRODUCTION

Globalization is undoubtedly one of the catch words of the 1990s – and not only in Europe, but also in the Americas and in Asia where one can find it daily as

* A first draft of this article was used as a basis for a guest lecture given at the Faculty of Sociology, University of Bucharest, April 28, 1998, in the context of a series of lectures given by Professor Gheorghică Geană. [author's note]

¹ Peter Kloos (1936–2000) studied Social Geography and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam, where he graduated from in 1962. In 1971 he obtained the doctor degree at the same University, under supervision of Professor André Köbben, with a thesis about the Maroni River Indians of Surinam. Professional positions: in 1974 he became Chief Researcher at the Anthropology Department of Leiden, and in 1984 Coordinator of research and teaching on Sociology of Non-Western Societies (SNWS), as well as Professor of Cultural Anthropology at Vrije Universiteit (Free University) of Amsterdam. From the issue of December 1996 (vol. 37, no. 5) to the issue of August-October 1997 (vol. 38, no. 4), Professor Kloos served as a member for cultural anthropology in the editorial board of the leading professional journal *Current Anthropology*.

Peter Kloos carried out fieldwork in the Netherlands (in Drente, on the process of transformation in rural life, and in Eastern Flevoland, on the social organization of a settlement), in Surinam (among the Caribs villages along the Maroni River, and among the Akuriyo, on survival strategies of gatherers and hunters), and in Sri Lanka (on violence, ethnicity and the transformation of the state). These researches made up the main content of his writings. Among them: *The Maroni River Caribs of Surinam* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), "The Akuriyo Way of Death", in: E. Basso, ed., *Carib-Speaking Indians* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1977), "Landpolicy and Agricultural Underproduction in a Sinhalese Village in Sri Lanka" (in: *South Asian Anthropologist*, 9, 1988), "No Knowledge Without a Knowing Subject", in: R. Burgess (ed), *Studies in Qualitative Methodology* 1 (London: JAI Press, 1988), etc. A peculiar achievement is the audio CD *The Maroni River Caribs of Surinam* (PAN Records, Leiden, 1996); the CD was based on ritual songs (invocation of spirits, shamanistic songs, funeral laments, etc.) recorded by Peter Kloos himself in the field. (A special note: this CD has not only an aesthetic quality, but also a scientific one: in the accompanying booklet, the author/researcher reproduced both the vernacular texts of the songs and their English versions; moreover, the details of native pronunciation are mentioned, as well as such technical data as the kind of tape, type of Report, speed of recording, natural conditions of work – e.g. rustling of the wind, clucking chickens, etc.)

The present paper has a special history – not so long one, but emotionally charged. I met Professor Peter Kloos at the 3rd Conference of EASA (European Association of Social Anthropologists), hosted by the University of Oslo, between 24–27 June 1994. At that Conference he was the convenor of the workshop "When Personal Life History and Research Topic Coincide", where I presented, too, a paper about "Participant Observation in Studying One's Own Native Community". We kept in touch, and a few years afterwards he

a topic of newspaper articles, as a *buzz word* in speeches of politicians and as subject of scholarly studies.

The term globalization was coined as early as the early 1960s, perhaps as early as 1959, although its popularity gained momentum only since about 1985 (Waters 1955: 2). The term grew out of the adjective “global”. “Global” in the sense of “world wide” is a far older word. It came, interestingly in itself, into use in the 16th century in England, in the wake of European expansion. That was no accident: due to the great sea voyagers the narrow horizons of the so-called Middle Ages had widened until they encompassed the whole world. As a result, “world wide” acquired a new meaning.

The adjective “global” acquired a more potent meaning in 1960, when McLuhan referred to the world as a “global village”. McLuhan used the village as a

came in Romania for attending the international conference of the “Groupement des Anthropologistes de Langue Française” (Sinaia, 29 April – 1 May 1998). A day before the Sinaia Conference (i.e. on 28 April), Professor Peter Kloos delivered a guest lecture to my students at the Faculty of Sociology, University of Bucharest. Titled “The Many Faces of Globalization”, the lecture was very animated by the subsequent discussion with my students. A few months later we met again at the new EASA Conference, in Frankfurt/Main (4–7 September 1998); that time we attended different workshops, but our seeing again was very agreeable.

Probably Peter Kloos liked both Romanian landscape and people, so that in the Fall of 1999 the intention sprang up in his mind to spend the next summer holiday in Romania, together with his family. Unfortunately, at the beginning of the next year the terrible diagnosis of the cancer that had affected him in the meantime overthrew all the plans. On January the 17th, 2000, he wrote to me: “The verb ‘to give up’ is not in my vocabulary, but I have become more realistic. I am as a result considering my priorities and I am also wondering about a number of things ‘in press’, among these the article on ‘Globalization’ I sent to you. Please inform me. If it takes very long, you might have to publish it posthumously (this is what is called ‘a sick joke’).” Impressed by his words, I sent him as an encouragement two very known verses of a Romanian classical poet: “To live is to fight, therefore fight, / Ardently and lovingly for life!” (in orig.: „*O luptă-i viața, deci te luptă, / Cu dragoste de ea, cu dor!*” – my engl. version, G.G.). At his request (a sign that he had liked the verses), I let him know the name of the poet: George Coșbuc (1866–1918). Finally, in spite of his strong optimism, the malady gained the day, but the acute consciousness in living his suffering made of Peter a winner. This appreciation is, in fact, the reason of the memorial volume published after his death by his colleagues: Dick Kooiman, Adrianus Koster, Peer Smets, and Bernhard Venema (eds), *Conflict in a Globalizing World. Studies in Honour of Peter Kloos* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002). Here is in a few words a sketch of Peter Kloos’s professional profile: “Peter Kloos – a man of great inspiration with a very wide range of interests (...). Music perception among the Indians; marriage and kinship in the Dutch province Drenthe; the problems of farmers in East Flevoland, Holland; health and disease in Indian villages in Surinam; agriculture, civil war and violence in Sri Lanka; globalization and nationalism; theory development and the philosophy of science; field-work methodology; poetry and prose in tribal societies (topics about he studied or wrote)” – Mart Bax, “Peter Kloos: Man of Inspiration and Many-Sided Anthropologist (1936–2000)”, p. 1, in Dick Kooiman et al. (eds), the above mentioned volume. Let us add to these modelled traits Peter’s friendly and generous innate nature.

The present article is just the one to which Peter Kloos referred in the letter he sent me on January the 17th, 2000. I tried to publish it at that moment in a journal of philosophy printed in Romania and using international languages. The publisher’s lack of funds made my efforts fruitless. Nevertheless, in spite of the elapsed time, the article has not lost at all its topicality. On the contrary, one can say that globalization is now more problematic than ever. Congruently, the revival of the journal *Annuaire Roumain d’Anthropologie* offers to the article a new chance of being taken over by the scientific community of anthropologists. [editorial note, by Gheorghiță Geană]

metaphor for the world community, to indicate that due to electronic means of communication, news reached people wherever as fast as it had done for ages in small village communities. I assume that the term globalization – a grammatical form suggesting a process – in its present meaning grew out of the awareness that the world is in the process of becoming a kind of global village, or at least one single economic, social-political and cultural system. Globalization is often defined as the coming into being of a world society.

However, the term suffered seriously from having become a catch word: in many statements one can without any change of meaning put the original adjective “global” back in its place! If this is the case, the term globalization has no additional value. This is regrettable, because what we need in a world on the move is not words for static conditions, like “global”, but indeed concepts for dynamic processes. If properly defined, globalization might be such a term.

The discussion regarding globalization soon after introduction of the concept became involved in an apparent contradiction: globalization did not simply lead to a global, cultural homogenization, or to the rise of a uniform global culture. Globalization, at the very least, was accompanied by another process that seemed to point in the opposite direction. This second process dealt with the growing emphasis on the specificity of often localized cultures. This second process is sometimes called *localization*.

A simple yet highly informative example of this apparent contradiction can be found in the realm of language: while on the one hand English is rapidly becoming the language of global communication in almost all spheres of human activity, in many countries languages of minorities are being revived. Some of these languages were almost extinct. Thus occurs even in England itself, where Celtic languages like Cornish (spoken in Cornwall) and Welsh (spoken in Wales) gain in popularity.

The general feeling among scholars is that the two processes are only apparent contradictory: perhaps they are the two sides of the same process. This feeling gave rise to at least two neologisms, namely *fraggementation*, a conjunction of fragmentation and integration (Rosenau 1994) and *glocalization*, formed by telescoping globalization and localization into one word (Robertson 1995). Others refer to a relationship between the two in terms of complementarity (Geană 1997) or dialectics (Kloos n.d.) What troubles me in the present literature on globalization is what Rosenau (1994: 267) called the lack of conceptual tools – and lack of conceptual clarity, one should add.

Of course there are scores of definitions of globalization. An early one is offered by Giddens:

Globalization refers to the development of social and economic relationships stretching world-wide. [...] A key aspect of the study of globalization is the emergence of a *world system* – that is to say, for some purposes we have to regard the world as forming a single social order. (Giddens 1991: 727 – italics in the original)

Or a more recent one: globalization is

A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding. (Waters 1995: 3)

My problem with these and the many other definitions is, in the first place, that although there certainly is overlap between them in the ground covered, there is also a lot of disagreement. In the second place that many definitions do not relate directly to empirical events; they themselves contain abstract concepts.

The use of different definitions or emphasizing different aspects of the phenomenon leads scholars to arrive at different conclusions regarding globalization, not because they really disagree, but because they use vague and ill-defined concepts – or even different concepts altogether. As a result they often look at very different events occurring in empirical reality. A good example can be found in Hirst and Thompson's *Globalization in Question*. In this book a rather narrow definition of globalization is used – and globalization is dismissed as a result! On the other hand, Went, also an economist, uses a wider definition, and successfully maps the process of globalization as an unfinished process that has yet to find its outer boundaries (Went 1996). Similar discrepancies can be found in works in German (Beck 1997; Boxberger & Klimenta 1998) and French (Minc 1997).

If globalization stands for a complex phenomenon with many faces – and this is undoubtedly the case – it is imperative that we should approach it with conceptual clarity. The problem with the concept as it is usually defined is that it tries to put a variety of phenomena in one container – if I may say so – without being very clear exactly what the things put into that container have in common. It is the container, not the contents, that is being defined.

GLOBALIZATION AS A RISE OF TRANSNATIONAL REGIMES

The various definitions of globalization do give an indication of what is put into the concept. Giddens, referred to above, speaks of “social and economic relationships”, “world systems”, “social order”. Waters refers to “social and cultural arrangements”. In other definitions one will find references to “organizations”, “networks” and “institutions”.

I think there is one concept that may be used to encompass all: the concept of *regime*. I take the concept from political science. A widely used definition of the term in political science is Krasner's. According to Krasner a regime consists of

implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations. (Krasner 1982)

For political scientists the concept is indeed closely tied to *international* relations – literally so, to relationships between states or state governments. In many definitions of the term regime is explicitly stated (cf. Junne 1992). The restriction to international relations is under emerging global realities not practical: many transnational regimes came into being without much state interference (some even turn themselves against the state).

Departing from Krasner's just quoted definition I would define a regime as consisting of

implicit and / or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures enabling and contraining actors in a given area of activity.

A *transnational regime*, then, is one which enables and constrains activities of actors on a transnational, even global level.

The disadvantage of this definition, however, is that it tends to emphasize the principles, the rules and the procedures and to perceive the actors as mere subjects. It therefore tends to underemphasize the creative role of the actors (in the plural) in forming regimes. Many transnational regimes (like the feminist movement, the ecological movement and various Human Rights movements), are closely tied to networks between individual actors. Now, anthropologists and also sociologists tend to approach regimes from the point of view of actors. We should not leave out creative actors from the conceptualization of "regime". A regime might therefore be conceived in a more balanced way, as

a formalized constellation of human interdependencies in which implicit and / or explicit principles, rules and decision-making procedures created by actors enable as well as constrain their behaviour in a given area of activity.

Again, such a regime becomes *transnational* once the constellation of human interdependencies transcends state boundaries. And this is precisely what has happened in the course of human history, and is still happening (globalization is an unfinished process and although we have an inkling of its direction, its end is not even in sight). In order to describe globalization we can define it in terms of transnational regimes: globalization is simply the rise and extension of transnational, ultimately global, regimes.

But how to study regimes? From an analytical point of view transnational regimes can quite accurately and quite systematically be studied in terms of five dimensions, namely in terms of:

- 1 origin and development;
- 2 degree of organization and of centralization;
- 3 geographic range (how wide does a regime cast its net?);
- 4 scope (which activities are covered by the regime?);
- 5 degree of effectivity and coercion

Now this is a rather abstract argument. Before I proceed, I will illustrate the concept of regime with a brief summary of the origin and rise of a particular regime – one we all are very familiar with because it rules a good deal of our daily activities in a truly global context, namely the Time Regime, the transnational regime of time reckoning.

THE TIME REGIME AS AN EXAMPLE OF A TRANSNATIONAL REGIME²

We all know what time is, unless we are asked to explain. Allow me to stick to a simple introductory definition to begin with: time is a measurable aspect of events, human and non-human events alike³.

For thousands of years humanity used time measures supplied by natural processes, such as the earth turning around itself vis à vis the sun (even though this was perceived the other way around, as the sun moving around the earth), the periods of the sun, and the annual cycle measured in seasons that very much differed from one climate to the other but still resulted in the recognition of an *annual* cycle. These measures resulted in three units of time: day, moon or month, and year. All human languages have, as far as I know, words for day, month or moon, and year. These natural processes were to a large extent predictable and could for that reason be used to refer to the past, and for purposes of planning of activities also to the future. Within the annual cycle, the year, there were about twelve moon cycles, and within the moon cycle there were a number of daily cycles or days (in ancient civilizations both the old and in the new world it was known that the three time units did not neatly match). We still use the yardsticks, years, months and days, in daily life (we also use weeks, but weeks as measure of time is not at all universal and differs markedly in number of days from one culture to the other).

The Babylonians were the first to more precisely quantify the daily cycle by dividing it in twelve equal parts (that it was *twelve* is not related to any natural events but to the Babylonian system of counting). The instrument they used to do this in an accurate way was the sun-dial. The resulting twelve hours of daylight were eventually matched by twelve nocturnal hours. The number of 12 + 12 was fixed – but due to the annual cycle of the sun, the hours themselves were of unequal length. In a country like the Netherlands a June 21 “hour” would according to this division of time be more than twice as long as a December 21 “hour” (at least, according to our standards and measurements of today)!

This variability of the length of the hour disappeared in Europe after 1300, with the invention of a number of instruments, such as the water-driven clock, the sand-glass and latter the mechanical clock: these instruments divided time in parts

² This section is to a large extent based on Goudsblom (1997)

³ This is not the only aspect of time. In Western societies time is usually conceived in a linear way: the past never returns. In Hindu and Buddhist societies time is cyclic.

of equal length. These mechanical clocks were independent of natural processes such as the turning of the earth around itself and around the sun, and the movement of the moon around the earth (they were, of course, subject to other natural forces such as temperature and gravity). Unlike the sun-dial, these instruments were capable of indicating the passing of time at night, and worked also when during daytime there was no sun. In West Europe already in the course of the 14th century the mechanical clock marked the passing of time. The bells of churches made the passing of time public, at least in the area where the bells could be heard.

The mechanical clock had unanticipated consequences, for industrial relations, for instance: workers and employers quickly found out that the clock aided both in determining working time! This may have been one of the reasons why the new way of measuring time spread so quickly in Western Europe: two important parties had an interest in the new principle of time reckoning.

The advent of the mechanical clock made the hour an undisputed unit of time – and one hour indeed became one hour, whether one was in Amsterdam or London, or wherever. And whether it was winter or summer, or for that matter, day or night. In the 19th century most European countries divided the time span called a day (including one night) in 24 hours, and they divided every hour in 60 minutes (another Babylonian numeral!)

There was no synchronization over larger areas, however. For the inhabitants of Amsterdam it would be 12 o'clock for everyone who was within the hearing reach of its church bells, but this did not mean that when at noon the Amsterdam church bells tolled it was also 12 o'clock in Paris or London! Amsterdam and Paris time *might* have been more or less synchronized because these places were situated at more or less the same longitude. But because 12 o'clock was indeed tied to midday or noon⁴, time in Amsterdam and London would definitely not match. This did not matter. It was perhaps not even noted: the time difference did not have any practical consequences. Anyway, there was hardly a possibility to synchronise the clocks.

Both the need and the possibility changed, however, with the development of communication technology, the train and the telegraph in particular. The railways made it imperative to synchronise time: a nation-wide railway system required for its time tables a nation wide, synchronized time regime. And the telegraph made a synchronized time table technically possible. In England, London, the hub of all transport, set the national standard. In the Netherlands one of the railway companies in the western part of the country declared Amsterdam time as standard time for its schedules, or *time tables*. Other towns in the Netherlands followed suit: it would have been inconvenient not to synchronise. Note that it was the railway company and not the government that declared Amsterdam time to be the national standard time.

Transnational synchronization followed very quickly. The beginning of transnational synchronization can even be dated: in October 1884 delegates from

⁴ *noon* is in many North and West European societies a rather ancient word used in a variety of forms (noen, nón, nona) to divide a day in two equal parts: it is noon when the sun has reached its highest point (regardless of the season). It is marched by “midi” in the Latin derived languages.

twenty five countries decided at a conference held in Washington, to distinguish twenty four time zones around the globe, each of 15 degrees, and beginning in Greenwich, at the observatory – hence the still widely used expression “Greenwich mean time”. Within the 15 degree zone, time would be the same: one hour later than the adjoining eastern time zone, one hour earlier than the adjoining western time zone.

There was some disagreement during the Washington conference: France wanted Paris as point of departure for the zero meridian, not Greenwich. It lost this struggle – for an illuminating reason: ships all over the world already for a century or so had used Greenwich time as standard for calculating latitude. Because Britannia “ruled the waves”, it apparently also ruled time reckoning.

It is important to note that the global time regime was not the result of an initiative of various governments, but of railway and shipping companies who most keenly felt the need to synchronise time reckoning world wide or global.

After 1884 in the whole world happened what in a country like the Netherlands had happened with the Amsterdam time regime: other countries just followed the established time regime.

There is a major exception in global standardization – though it does not regard the recognition of time zones and their implications. Although the year in everywhere a crucial element of time reckoning, the zero-point differs: apart from Christian calender there are Budhist, Chinese and Muslim calenders. The Budhist era begins 544 earlier than the Christian era, and the Budhist new year begins with full moon in what according to the Roman calender is April. However, where there are other transnational calenders, the Christian calender is used as well – the alternative being restricted to certain, strictly national uses.

The five dimensions of a regime listed in the previous section are easily discernable in this brief description of the transnational Time Regime. I will not repeat them all. One or two points I wish to stress, however. In the first place, the Time Regime became truly global a century before the term globalization was coined. This should remind us of the fact that the process of globalization as such is much older than the concept. How old is a debatable issue. As a gradual process of enlargement of scale it is probably as old as humanity, I would argue. Still, there are at least two moments of quickening escalation noticeable in this process of evolution that started long ago. The first can be located in the era of European expansion, the second is located after World War II and is a consequence of the incredible development of micro-electronics and its impact on global communication. I leave this issue of escalation in the 15th-16th and then again in the 20th century aside, although it is important enough: it gives rise to the question whether globalization is in effect westernization and cultural imperialism in disguise? The point I do wish to emphasize is that the study of globalization requires a historical perspective of considerable time depth: the history of the Time Regime began when the Babylonians divided their days in twelve parts, in the second millenium BC, and other societies took over the idea.

In terms of degree of organization and centralization the Time Regime is very intriguing. Although in its present shape it is based on the decisions reached at a

conference in 1884, at present the Time Regime is neither organized nor centralized: humanity has internalized the Time Regime to an amazing extent. This is directly related to the third dimension, geographic range, there need not be any central authority, there not be a “time police force”. Just try to imagine a world without a synchronized Time Regime!

Today the Time Regime practically covers the whole world and virtually the whole world population. There may be a few American Indian groups in South America and perhaps a few Mountain Papua villagers in New Guinea where nobody has heard of watches but I dare to predict that most of the daily routine of the majority of mankind today is directly or indirectly ruled by the clock. This means that a large amount of human activities are covered by a global Time Regime.

The fifth dimension I distinguished, the degree of coercion and effectivity, again is interesting. Time synchronization took place because it was useful and served the purposes of the railway companies in the first place. Nowadays it is the other way around: railway companies are ruled by the conceptions of time they introduced – and not only the railway companies: the Time Regime has become what Goffman called a “total institution” (Goffman 1961): it rules all of us as a veritable tyrant.

THE FACES OF GLOBALIZATION

If globalization can be conceived as the sum-total of the rise and extension of transnational regimes, then the next step is to identify these regimes. The Time Regime is one of them. Let me list some others:

- The Regime of the Capitalist Market
- The Regime of Electronic Money
- The Regime of Global Governance
- The Regime of International Law
- The Regime of the English World Language
- The Human Rights Regime
- The Feminist Regime
- The Regime of Nature Conservation

I do not insist that these are all the relevant transnational regimes, nor that this is the best categorization, nor that they are really independent of each other. In any case, there is one regime that is unmentioned here and that tends to regulate them all: the regime of the Digital Computer. I want to elaborate only the Regime of the Capitalist Market, for reasons that will be clear presently.

I will not even try to answer the question when in time the Regime of the Capitalist Market began its career. Markets are already ancient phenomena. In its present day form the capitalist market is possibly the most influential of the various regimes (many discussions on globalization are in fact restricted to this regime, cf.

Boxberger & Klimenta 1998; Hirst & Thompson 1996; Went 1996). Let me briefly elaborate the third and fourth dimension: the geographic range and the scope of the market. Both the geographic range and the scope of the market have demonstrated a number of spectacular changes recently. As far as its geographic range is concerned, with the demise of the plan economies in Eastern Europe and the opening of China, the capitalist market is rapidly becoming truly global: as truly global regime it is increasing its control everywhere. It is also increasing its scope. This process is known as commoditization – important is the work of Marx already. Commoditization means that more and more things are becoming commodities and for more and more people – which entails that more and more things can be acquired only for money, and that earning money is a necessity to survive.

In the world of today almost everything is becoming a commodity that can be acquired for money only. Let me produce a brief list:

1. food
2. housing
3. clean water
4. clothing
5. education
6. health and health care
7. human organs
8. genetic information, animal and especially plant species
9. words, especially words connected to commodities
10. clean air
11. silence
12. leisure
13. time

Commoditization as a consequence of the transnational regime of the capitalist market does have many consequences: an increasing part of the lives of an increasing part of people is controlled by the mechanisms of the market. One of the consequences, perhaps paradoxically, is that the market does not produce abundance but rather what is based on, namely scarcity. I turn to one consequence: its effects on ordinary people.

TRANSNATIONAL REGIMES AND LOCALIZED PEOPLE

I recall what in my introductory remarks I pointed out that it is generally assumed that globalization and its natural opposite, localization to stick to these terms, are related, and that a number of scholars are of the opinion that these phenomena are so related that they deserve one and the same term, fragmentation according to Rosenau, and glocalization according to Robertson.

Discussing the concepts of regime I emphasized that they are constructed by human actors, who make use of them but who are also constrained by them. What exactly happens at the level of the actors?

Let me return to the market for a moment. In the past markets stood for places where people sold and bought a small number of commodities. Prices were subject to supply and demand and to cleverness in buying and selling in a direct relationship between producer and consumer. Commodities sold were products of the region. That region is now the whole world – and a market place is no longer a particular site. Producer and consumer do no longer meet but both know that there still are mechanisms at work that determine prices, yet prices are subject to processes far beyond the understanding, let alone control. Power has always played a role in economic transactions, the market included, but nowadays it no longer rests in human beings – but in an depersonalized “market”.

The market is now the only regime that has this effect: globalization implies a shift from personalized power relations to abstract depersonalized ones. Because they are no longer personal, they also are no longer conceived as cultural (they are cultural, I think, but they are no longer as group-specific as culture used to be). I believe that this shift is responsible for the tendency all over the world for people to turn back to primordial groups and to cultural specificity, which is inherently group-specific or ethnic, which is the opposite of global, pan-human and therefore almost non-human. To return to the example of language: with English becoming a pan-human language, self-conscious groups begin to stress a language specific to themselves.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Globalization, however fashionable the term is sometimes used, stands for economic, socio-political and cultural processes that have a serious impact on men, women and children everywhere.

We are often unaware of these processes because they occur far away from daily life. What I am trying to accomplish by using the concept of transnational regime is to bring these processes down to a level where we can empirically investigate them: the various transnational regimes are the various faces of globalization. Most of these regimes are far beyond the control of ordinary people, and some of them are perhaps beyond anyone's control: due to the global nature of these regimes there is no escape. But at least we can try to understand their nature and the nature of their impact on our daily life.

I did not go into detail with regard to the consequences of the rise and spread of global regimes for ordinary people living here and now. About these consequences is as yet next to nothing known. To understand globalization is one challenge – to understand its impact is a double challenge. And, finally, to control it is a treble challenge.

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ON AGGRESSION AND HUMILITY IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL KNOWING

GHEORGHIȚĂ GEANĂ*

Scientific knowing is ethologically presented as an act of aggression: when a geologist wants to find out the chemical composition of a rock, he/she must break it. Similarly, the reaction of nuclear fission in physics may be considered a consequence of the experimenter's aggressive intervention. The aggressiveness is painfully evident within the domain of the life sciences, where a plant or an animal must be literally sacrificed for their anatomy and physiology be revealed. In socio-human sciences, the method of participant observation was invented in order to attenuate the aggressive potential of the process of knowing. By this way, however, aggression is transferred from the object of study to the epistemic mind itself and, as a consequence, it metamorphoses into humility – a state of mind adopted by the anthropologist equally with pragmatism and humanism. In a single case both aggression and humility can be surpassed: when anthropologist approaches his/her native locality, within which he/she is integrated by birth. Such a situation, called by the author “anthropology at home proper,” is described along with a comment on its consequences, including the problem of distancing and defamiliarization.

Key words: native anthropology, anthropology at home proper, participant observation, aggressiveness, experience.

One of the most important change which has affected anthropology in the second half of the twentieth century (especially in the last two decades) is anthropologists' turning towards their own society and culture. It was not a simple change of ontological perspective, but a real change of disciplinary paradigm, in Kuhnian sense (Kuhn 1970). Concentrated in the transition from the syntagm “other cultures” (Beattie 1993 [1964]) to the syntagm “anthropology at home” (Messerschmidt 1981, Jackson 1987), this change of paradigm has brought about or put again into discussion with an enhanced acuity such problems as the status of participant observation, reflexivity, the role of researcher's autobiography, interaction subject/object, identity of the fieldworker, objectivity in social sciences,

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etc. All these problems populate a new field of anthropological science, that of the so-called (since Jones 1970) “native anthropology.” In the 1970s this orientation was still timid: as if afraid of an unfavorable reaction, it stopped for a moment at the macroregional boundaries of Europe (Cole 1977). However, previously recommended by Boas (see Lowie 1937: 133) and by Prince Charles of Great Britain¹ (Kuper 1989: 186), appreciated by Radcliffe-Brown (Srinivas 1966: 147–148), highly promoted as a “cultural critique” (Marcus and Fischer 1986), increasingly practised (Srinivas 1966, Jones 1970, Fahim et al. 1980, Idem 1982, Messerschmidt 1981, Strathern 1981, Ohnuki-Tierney 1984, Pina-Cabral 1986, Jackson 1987, Gefou-Madianou 1993), critically evaluated (Strathern 1987, Narayan 1993), or strongly refuted (Hastrup 1993a, 1993b, 1995), native anthropology has troubled more and more the classical image on the discipline and put in question even its definition. Although the metaphor of the anthropologist as “the astronomer of the social sciences” (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 460) is still actual, how far we are from the criterion of distinction between sociology as the social science of the observer and anthropology as the social science of the observed (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 439)!...

Doing research within the researcher’s own country opens to anthropology the way towards its liminal point of the introjective availability: the *researcher’s own native locality*. In this case, one professes not simply native anthropology, but a two-fold native anthropology; in other words, not merely “anthropology at home,” but “anthropology *at home proper*.”

This kind of scientific undertaking entails an exceptional epistemic tension. Practically, the tension is generated by the coming across in a single point of the humankind’s cultural universe of such opposite forces as: the aspiration towards objectivity with maximum of subjectivity, the need of distancing with maximum of familiarity, the role of anthropologist with that of locally enculturated human being.

SCIENTIFIC KNOWING: AGGRESSION, OR HUMILITY?

In the present article, I intend to reveal a *behavioural* aspect involved in anthropological research at home proper, rather than to exploit the theme from the viewpoint of the personal equation. The epistemological aspects of distance, objectivity, researcher’s identity, etc. will of course emerge, but they will be subordinated to another aspect, which is ethological as well as ethic. I refer to the problem of scientific knowledge as aggression.

More exactly, scientific knowing is a process the hypostases of which can be echeloned *between aggression and humility*. This two step scale of attitudes depends on the complexity of what in phenomenological terms is called “ontological regions.” In natural sciences, aggressiveness is obvious and unavoidable. In socio-

¹ As a former student in anthropology at Cambridge and Patron of the Royal Anthropological Institute (cf. Kuper, next quoted).

human sciences, aggressiveness is exerted at the same ontological level of the epistemic mind; it gets in touch with the scientist's consciousness, that can avoid it, but only at the price of converting it into humility.

To be more illustrative, when a geologist wants to find out the chemical composition of a rock, he/she must break it, and really acts without searchings of the heart that by doing so a form which cannot ever be recomposed is destroyed. In physics, the reaction of nuclear fission is also a consequence of an aggression on the part of the experimenter, who wants to penetrate into the intimate structure of reality. One can say – be it as an impulse towards anthropomorphism – that the great amount of energy which accompanies the nuclear fission is but the rage of nature for not having been left alone. In the light of this idea, the caesura some philosophers put between the human knowledge and the bosom of reality may receive a new significance. It is well known, for example, the Kantian distinction between “appearance” and “thing/object in itself” (Kant 1978: 115 ff), or, in other words, between “*phaenomena*” and “*noumena*” (pp. 322–353). In Kant's view, “what is not appearance [read ‘*phaenomenon*,’ orig. *Erscheinung*], cannot be an object of experience” (p. 332), and it is not only human senses but equally intellect and reason that cannot annihilate this self-hiding of the thing in itself. Similarly, Meyerson (1921) postulates within reality a zone of the “irrational,” inaccessible to the scientific explanation. Certainly, such a gap between knowledge and reality expresses the inner limits of the subjective instruments of knowing, but why not also the retractility or resistance of reality faced with a continuous act of epistemic aggression?

By promoting the experiment as one of its prominent characteristics, the modern post-Galileian science has developed just on behalf of emphasizing the aggressive aspect of knowing. Theoretically, this aspect was involved in Francis Bacon's philosophy: “Under Bacon's urgings the student of Nature was to participate actively, to *force* things into previously non-existent configurations in order to see how they behaved” (Tiles 1993: 466, italics in orig.). Or, in Bacon's own words: “[T]he secrets of nature reveal themselves more readily under the vexations of art than when they go their own way” (quoted in Tiles, *ibid.*). Inspired by Hacking (1983), Tiles (1993) has characterized this outlook as “interventionism,” or even as “policy of interventionism.”

The aggressiveness in the knowing process is more evident (one can say *painfully* evident) in the domain of *life sciences*. Thus, a plant or an animal must be literally sacrificed for their anatomy and physiology be revealed. Especially *animal experimentation* – even the simple application of chemical agents or physical stimuli – has painful (if not deadly) effects on the living organism. As a matter of fact, the procedure of animal experimentation does not render service only to the pure science; it was continuously improved in ad-hoc laboratories, as a very precious adjuvant of biochemistry, microbiology, immunology, pharmacology –, all these branches being in their turn underlain by the pharmaceutical or food industry, and (last, but not least) by medicine. “Techniques such as organ transplants, for example, and other highly interventive therapy are systematically

rehearsed on animals before being applied to human patients” (Rupke 1990a: 1). The most cruel component of the animal experimentation is, of course, *vivisection*, literally meaning “cutting living body.” By its undeniable usefulness, vivisection proves that, in the process of knowing, aggression is not a goal, but an epiphenomenon, more or less necessary. How much necessary? Or, differently put: is it necessary, indeed? That is the question the answers to which, during a long history of this ticklish experimental technique, polarized people and associations in two categories, as they declared pro-vivisection or anti-vivisection. On both sides, the arguments were not purely sentimental; on the contrary, their most convincing points were sustained by philosophical ideas, religious beliefs, moral appeals, and scientific ideals (Maehle and Tröhler 1990; Rupke 1990b).

The debate around vivisection has an ethic origin. The intricate aspect of the problem results from the strong blending of the usefulness of this technique with the sacrificial price it claims. Today, while recognizing the great benefits from using animals in medical research on cancer, mental illness, or heart disease, the moderate groups are not concerned with total prohibition of animal experimentation; in parallel with the search for alternative methods, they merely demand a “humane treatment of animals” (Garfield 1990, Mitchell 1990). “[A]nimals feel as humans do,” it was asserted (Fukuda 1997: 5). This enters into a good resonance with the strictly scientific (and recent enough) trend to use in ethology the method of empathy, otherwise largely used in anthropology (Moore and Hannon 1993). Lastly, if we transpose the problem in the axiological range, cruelty does not appear as an absolutely negative value. At the end of her subtle analysis of fox-hunting and pet-keeping in Britain, both of them bringing about suffering on animals,² Fukuda gathers that: “The existence of ‘cruelty’ to animals is usually recognized in the context of animal suffering and human needs. If a human activity inflicts suffering on animals and that activity cannot be justified as necessary for human life, it is defined as ‘cruel.’ People in different conditions, however, perceive ‘necessity’ differently. Even when they agree on the existence of ‘animal suffering,’ they make different judgments on whether or not it can be justified. Their judgments are highly dependent on what types of relationship they have with animals” (1997: 6).

The next question which arises is: What happens to the epistemic aggressiveness at the human level? How does it particularly manifest itself? The problem is really critical, because at this level the epistemic subject and the object of study share the same ontological condition, namely the human one. Something uncommon does happen, indeed: aggressiveness does not disappear; it becomes more subtle and, especially, gets the opposite direction. In other words, it is not only the object, but (no matter if in a different way) even the subject that is aggressed.

Potentially, the possibility of aggressing the object by the subject remains a constant, as a general epiphenomenon of the process of knowing. It is just as a

² That hunting brings about suffering is obvious. In the case of pet-keeping, suffering is the result of general artificial conditions offered to animals by their masters.

solution to this problem that anthropologists discovered the *participant observation*. The primary effect – consciously pursued – of this method was a real increase of the range, relevance, and reliability of the field data (Kluckhohn 1940; Spradley 1980: v–iii; for a comprehensive survey on the influential ethnographic researches indebted to participant observation see Tedlock 1991). The secondary effect of participant observation as “the foundation of anthropological research” (Bernard 1988: 148) is just to attenuate as much as possible – if not to annihilate – the aggressive potential of scientific knowing within the human domain. It is true that some investigations in the history of anthropological field research pointed out an aggressive impulse where nobody has even thought of that. So, the retrospective analysis has revealed that for Marcel Griaule, famous as a talented fieldworker, the research was “manifestly an intrusion; he made no pretense that it be otherwise. Thus, to an important degree, the truth he recorded was a truth provoked by ethnographer” (Clifford 1983: 140, italics in orig.). The French Africanist compared ethnography to “a theatre of war or a judicial proceeding,” so that “in the field he acted consistently as a company commander or an examining magistrate” (Clifford 1983: 142–143). Even Malinowski, generally credited with the merit of being the first theorician of participant observation, was unveiled as “an *aggressively* interactive fieldworker” (Stocking, Jr. 1983: 99, my italics). Nevertheless, if we judge these manners as attributes of personal style, they appear as exceptions reinforcing the rule; otherwise, related to the very essence of participant observation, they have rather metaphorical significations.

Besides such particular cases, there are a few reasons for which the aggressiveness cannot be reduced to zero. First, the scientific knowing does not put in front of itself any limits; it tends to conquer the intimacy of phenomena – so does it happen in quantum physics, or in genetics, and so does in cultural anthropology, too. It is enough to mention fieldworkers’ interest in sexual life, magical practices, or secret societies. Second, at the socio-human level the scientific knowing is an interaction between subject and object, each with a proper identity, irreducible to the other’s one. Each of the two selves – observer and observed – seeks to exhibit favorably his “front region” and to protect the own “back region”³ (Goffman 1975: 109–140). Third, in socio-human sciences, the truth has an immanent moral dimension. This dimension is reiterated by the feedback specific to the relationship observer/observed. The ethnographer’s writing, for example, can be received by the described people with satisfaction, but equally it can hurt them (Jorgensen 1971: 331–333, Hastrup 1992: 122–124⁴). And

³ As the “impression management” is a feature of *any* social interaction, including that contained in an ethnographical research, “the ethnographer will be presenting himself in certain ways to his informants during the research and concealing other aspects of himself from them. They will be doing the same” (Berreman 1962: 12).

⁴ Hastrup calls “violence” (on the ethnographer’s part) this kind of interaction. I suggest simply “aggression” as a more adequate term. Violence is rather a sudden and physical-addressed action, while aggression can take latent and subtle forms.

while we agree that “the idea that natives must be pleased by our results is not only a theoretical dead-end, but also clearly at odds with attempts of cultural critique” (Hastrup 1993b: 153), one must not ignore the emic viewpoints as vital for the functioning of the local social system. Still more weighty is the possible harmful effect the publishing or manipulation of the research data can have on the host studied people (Jones 1970: 255, Jorgensen 1971: 327ff).

These, along with other concurrent issues (the right to private personality, the need of consent and confidentiality, etc.) led to the initiative of an ethic code for ethnologists and anthropologists (Jorgensen 1971). Such a moral normative code seems to have been already adopted (in any case it was elaborated) by the community of archaeologists, in order to induce among this category of scientists a respectful behaviour towards the human reliques (World Archaeological Congress 1990). A similar code, under the title *Principles of Professional Responsibilities*, has been also elaborated in anthropology, in 1971, by the Council of the American Anthropological Association (see some paragraphs in Spradley 1980: 20–25), and it is the more significative so as the initiative did not rise from the aggressed part, but from the inside of anthropologists’ community. Thus, in the domain of human’s knowing, aggressiveness can be controlled and strongly limited.

However, something more profound takes place at this level: a new type of aggression appears, one which is addressed to the epistemic subject itself. It is an aggression the circumstances and particular ways of which are – consciously or not – created⁵ and assumed by the subject, i.e. by the researcher him-/herself. How otherwise than as a *self-submission to aggression*⁶ could be taken for the participant observer’s decision to leave his/her own country for studying other cultures? His/her endeavors to cope with the new, exotic, unknown conditions of food, shelter, transportation and other elements also stipulated by the exigencies of participant observation (language, work activities, rituals) entail a mood currently recognized as a very crisis. Loneliness⁷ (Powdermaker 1966: 59), or, on the contrary, the lack of privacy,⁸ – sometimes ethnopsychologically explained (Bernard 1988: 165–166) –, and much narrated and commented role conflicts⁹

⁵ They are “created” by the simple intrusion of the ethnographer, as a strange person who mobilizes the curiosity of natives in the community around his/her presence and goal.

⁶ More exactly: a self-submission to conditions of a strange subtle aggression.

⁷ “I learned that a definition of panic is a state of unrelatedness” (Powdermaker 1966: 59).

⁸ H. Russell Bernard (next quoted) gives testimony that during one of his field research, he and his family (the wife and a baby) rented quarters with a local family. Women in the household felt hurt when researcher’s wife asked for a little time to be alone, this being a customary need for Anglo-Saxons. After about two months, the anthropologist and his family had to find a house of their own. It is interesting to observe in such a case how the threatening on the intimacy turns from the object to be studied (see the present paper, earlier) towards the epistemic subject!

⁹ In the same sense, Jarvie (1969) makes use of the expression “role-clashes.” Even in the situations of the resonance of roles, like that between “anthropologist” and “tourist” (Crick 1985, 1989), the problems arised are not less complicated, because even then the anthropologist is confronted with the need of protecting the own identity (Crick 1989: 34), with the conflict between moral responsibilities and professional obligations (Crick 1989: 38), as well as with the balance between involvement and detachment (Crick 1989: 39).

(Powdermaker 1966: 115–116, Kloos 1969, Jones 1970: 253–254, Hendry 1992: 170–173) are as many reasons of a general state of “culture shock” (Bernard 1988: 164–167). Sometimes the role conflict can arise by the deterioration of the friendship relation between ethnographer and his/her informants (Hendry 1992). Other times it can be a consequence of the incompatibility between the new cultural framework and ethnographer’s life principles; Kloos, for example (1969: 511) had to suspend his vegetarian diet for the duration of the fieldwork, and Jones (1970: 253–254) points out that dancing together with the natives in a “pagan” ritual could be considered sinful by a missionary. That is why going into the field is naturally accompanied by apprehensive feelings. It is not always that the bad expectations are confirmed, but the preliminary fearing cannot be avoided. Here is, for example, another vegetarian anthropologist (Sutton 1997) asking himself: on the one hand, how could he prove his manhood faced in the field with the preconceived idea of correlation between eating meat and manhood, and, on the other hand, what would his refusal of meat imply in terms of ideas about hospitality and reciprocity, viewed as key themes in the Greek society which he had selected for his research? These examples prove that, as “a shared experience followed by a shared reasoning” (Hervik 1994: 91–92), anthropological knowledge produces equally consent and conflict, and that the conflict (as more problematical than the consent) may affect anthropologist’s relationships with both the natives and with his/her own self.

The attitude of voluntary submission to a subtle form of aggression has all the attributes of *humility*. A series of fieldworkers’ testimonies seem predestined to certify this diagnosis. Thus, Kloos (1969: 511) asserts that “any fieldworker has to suppress a lot of his own identity, because it interferes with his smooth integration.” Later on this assertion will be reinforced by Gans, as follows: the researcher is an individual not exempted from personal needs, but often “[p]articipant observation requires the suppression or postponement of satisfying these personal needs” (1982: 59). Finally, Crick adds to the same idea an ethic tint: “The circumstances of the field, what others allow one to be, and the necessity sometimes to camouflage one’s intentions in order to gain data, produce a number of ‘roles’ with which an anthropologist might not morally be entirely satisfied nor psychologically comfortable, but is prepared to tolerate” (1989: 32). Apart from these consonant opinions, Jarvie (1969: 505 fn2), while conceiving the couple of roles stranger/friend or outsider/insider as mutually exclusive, speaks about an “acute dissection of the ambiguities of participant observation;” in fact, if allowed, those roles are sometimes exclusive and other times complementary, and when they are exclusive the “dissection” of roles is nothing else than the *socio-human hypostasis of vivisection*, or, more exactly, of *self-vivisection*!

Following the hierarchy among the ontological regions within the global reality, the trajectory of the scientific knowing seems, therefore, to go *from aggression to humility*. In spite of appearance, humility is not in this case a pejorative attitude. It is a state of mind, in which the anthropologist transposes him-/herself in order to attain the scientific goal: collecting as many, genuine, and relevant field data as

possible. Behind this seemingly pragmatic strategy one should see a flexible relationship between end and means, as well as a special attitude of humanism. This case of humility is quite different, for example, from that described by Victor Turner as accompanying the “rituals of status elevation,” and especially the “rituals of status reversal,” in which “at certain culturally defined points in the seasonal cycle, groups or categories of persons who habitually occupy low status positions in the social structure are positively enjoined to exercise ritual authority over their superiors; and they, in their turn, must accept with good will their ritual degradation” (Turner 1991: 167).

DOING ANTHROPOLOGY AT HOME PROPER: THE DEEP RELEVANCE OF A PECULIAR EXPERIENCE

To summarise, a state of culture shock marks the impact of the fieldworker to the alien culture chosen as object of study. Participant observation is an invention meant to facilitate observer’s integration into the community which is to be observed and to enhance the efficiency of the scientific research. From the moral viewpoint, participant observation attenuates researcher’s aggressiveness, inherent to the process of knowing, but this happens with the price of a stress which converts aggressiveness to humility.

If so, the sense of the notion of *experience* changes its address. The notion of “experience” has been given various meanings by philosophers, psychologists, and – last but not least – by anthropologists (Turner and Bruner 1986, Hastrup and Hervik 1994, Hastrup 1995). Generally, these meanings are overlapping and resonant among themselves. Irrespective of understanding experience as “primary reality” (Bruner 1986: 5), all-sidedly “social” fact (Hastrup 1995: 84), empathically accessible (Okely 1984), or indirectly expressed (Turner 1986, Geertz 1986), the meanings it was invested with revolve around Dilthey’s term of “life experience” (*Lebenserfahrung*) (Dilthey 1981: 159 ff), which, as to the value of the involved feelings, are entirely neutral (neither positive nor negative). This cluster of meanings represents a large *vitalist* sense of “experience.” Unlike it, I want to draw attention upon a hidden connotation, which turns up as the *pathetic*¹⁰ sense of the term. Etimologically, “experience” comes from the Latin verb “experior, -iri, -pertus sum,” one of the connotation of which is to “suffer,” to “endure,” to “undergo,” and – pure coincidence? – the Latin original root is a deponent verb! In English, also, one of the old meaning of the term sounds: “condition or event by which one is affected; XIV[th century] – Chaucer, Wyclif Bible, *Piers Plowman*” (Onions 1985: 337). In scientific activity, experience is classically taken for an action which troubles the normal state of things and, especially, which is “suffered” by the object. In contrast, during participant observation it is the subject that suffers. According to the new sense of the term “experience,” participant observation means the state of

¹⁰ From Greek *pathetós*: “liable to suffer” (cf. Onions 1985: 657).

self-humility of the epistemic mind. Significatively, this voluntarily concessive behaviour received validation on the part of the professional scientific community. Although conceived as “a set of principles to guide ethnographers when faced with conflicting choices” (Spradley 1980: 20), nothing in the ethical code of the *Principles of Professional Responsibility* can be found regarding the *researcher's* protection in conflicting situations. To illustrate, in the first paragraph one can read: “When there is a conflict of interest, these [i. e. the studied] individuals must come first. The anthropologist must do everything within his power to protect their physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honor their dignity and privacy” (quoted in Spradley 1980: 21). After this norm – “Consider informants first” –, other norms sound congruently: “Safeguard informants’ rights, interests, and sensitivities,” “Protect the privacy of informants,” “Don’t exploit informants,” “Make reports available to informants” (cf. Spradley 1980: 20–25).

It would seem that anthropologists’ reorientation towards their own society, or, as it was said, “going to the field by staying at home” (Bell 1993: 40–41), dissolves all the role conflicts and factors of culture shock. This proves quickly to be a frail speculative presupposition. As Gefou-Madianou affirms (1993: 169) about the researches she did in her own country, Greece, “there were times when I felt the ‘foreigner’.” I can say myself the same about my own field experience in several Romanian localities, all over the country, excepting *one* village, as I shall soon unveil. Testimonies of those who have practised anthropology at home show that the problems of adaptation to the milieu of research are not much different from the same sort of problems one has to solve in an alien culture. For example, the observer’s image in co-natives’ eyes is sometimes altered by rumour or pejorative preconceived ideas which can give rise to the well-known culture shock; Graham reports (1981: 109) that in a community of co-natives where the unwritten rule stipulated that a woman must have at least two children, she, with only one, was considered as “an inadequate, partial, or ambiguous female.” To give another example, equally suggestive, the co-natives’ suspicion towards the institution which patronized Houghton’s research (Houghton 1981) is not essentially different from the suspicion Berreman had to cope with on the part of the Himalayan Paharis of Sirkanda (Berreman 1962).¹¹

Nevertheless, anthropology “at home” signifies the researcher’s coming nearer to proper identity, the diminishing of distance between the two problematical roles – insider/outsider – related to his/her identity on the research span. The absolute nearness is reached when anthropologist takes another step inside the proper society, for *studying his/her own birth locality*. As I have had myself such an experience of what (for the sake of accuracy and completeness) I have called *anthropology at home proper*, let me say something about it, hoping that any particular experience may have a core of general interest.

¹¹ The similarity of such tensional situations weakens seriously the anti-nativist argument that a native anthropologist is too familiar in his/her own culture.

The locality at stake is Soveja, a Romanian mountain village of about 3,500 inhabitants. It is situated in the district of Vrancea, one of the most archaic region of the country. The settlement has a history of about three hundred and fifty years. It was constituted by a migration of free people, who, under the threaten of feudal yoke, left their original fireplace (two villages, located near one another in the district of Argeș) and settled at three hundred kilometers away, in their present ecological niche. There are not precise written documents about this population transfer. The lack of historical written information is, however, compensated by a vivid oral tradition, better preserved in the newly emerged settlement. Two strong proofs evoke most convincingly the common roots of these human groups. First, a toponymical stratification. As a matter of fact, Soveja is a commune (an administrative entity) made up of two villages, situated in contiguity, but clearly defined. Their names are Rucăreni and Dragoslaveni, from Rucăr and Dragoslavele, the two source villages. In Romanian toponymical grammar, Rucăreni means “the people from/of Rucăr,” and Dragoslaveni “the people from/of Dragoslavele.” Soveja is the older name of the natural place, that was taken over as general name for the whole new settlement. The second proof consists in a set of family names which were detected both in the original stock and in the newly formed one.

These are historical, demographical, and social raw data which an anthropologist cannot pass by with indifference. The project of a complex anthropological research (both physical and cultural) germinated earlier in my mind. I was fully aware from the outset of the risk of *parti pris*, but I told myself that every human action is partly subjective, either by its goal or by its means. The real problem is to convert subjectivity to objectivity, i.e. to bring the theme into the force-field of intersubjective interest.

My project took form at the beginning of 1980s. First, I carried out individual fieldwork in some villages of Vrancea, including Soveja, on demographical subject matter. I was especially interested in comparative intra-zonal data regarding the ratio of endogamy and exogamy (Geană 1985). After a period of exploring the field, in 1984 I started out a long-term research. I planned to work intermittently, both individually and in team. Soveja was placed at the core of the whole research. My intention was to collect a few categories of data (anthropophysical, demographical, linguistical, largely cultural), which should be relevant according to a double comparative grid: on the one hand, attention was oriented towards the possible preserved similarities between Soveja and the two original villages, Rucăr and Dragoslavele, and on the other hand towards the dissimilarities between Soveja and the neighboring villages in Vrancea.¹²

¹² It is to be mentioned that the Sovejans have a strong self-perception as being a different group in the area of Vrancea; they use to say: “We are not Vranceans!” Suggestively, the rate of endogamy for the period 1901–1980 amounted in Soveja to 91.0 percentages, as against for the neighbouring villages of Vrancea in which the rate of endogamy oscillates around the average rate of 72.5 percentages (Geană 1985: 150).

What happened to my identity in the course of this research? Did the two roles – insider and outsider – preserve in my case their conflictual characteristic to one another?

The relationship to the native village has always been for me a constant of my life. Psychically, I have never left my village. I keep in my personal archives the calendar with the leaf undetached at the day of 16 October 1967, when I officially changed my residence. Now, I am a resident of Bucharest, the capital city of my country, but when saying “Home” (with capital, signifying the sentimental centre of the world) I think of the village and house of my childhood. Until quite recently I went to the village monthly, however, for some time past my trips have become rarefied to one at every other month because of my family cares in Bucharest. I have currently helped my parents to work in the garden. Often, when in the locality, I have attended several rituals; and it is not as a researcher, but as a simply invited person (i.e. as a member of the community) that I have participated in such ceremonies like weddings or funeral repasts.

A significative detail is related to a little object in the domestic inventory: a nice peasant bag, artistically woven (in vernacular speech: *traistă*); in spite of its abandoning by the local elite as a too rustical (i.e. anachronical) object, I have often gone into the village for shopping with it in my hand or on my shoulder. My co-villagers’ reaction (either spontaneously exhibited to myself or indirectly by my mother) was a mixture of astonishment and appreciation, my act being rightly understood as a natural as well as a symbolical one.

Another significative issue regards my language from the phonemic viewpoint. Romanian language has not dialects. As everywhere, there are some nuances, on the one hand between the literary language and the folk one, and on the other hand among the folk manners of speaking in different regions. Well, as a trained person, I usually speak the literary language, of course, but when in Soveja I adopt – many times unconsciously – the local phonemic behaviour. Particularly, during the team work campaigns I conducted in the village, I spoke three nuances of language: a *local* nuance when talking with my co-villagers about the daily life problems, a *conceptual* nuance with my team colleagues about our research, and a *combined* nuance when explaining to my co-villagers the goal and procedures of the research they were asked to subject to. The latter nuance was an intermediary one, containing some conceptual terms “translated” into a locally intelligible version. Thus, I told them that what I and my colleagues were doing there was called “anthropology,” i.e. “the science of humane,” from “anthropos” which means “man” (in the sense of “homo”); there is – I added – such a science, as there is also (we learned about it at school, didn’t we?) a science of our planet called “geography,” another of plants (“botany”), still another of animals (“zoology”), etc.

Equally important for understanding my interaction with the people of Soveja in the context of research is their impression about my person. Has their collective mind recognized itself in my self as my individual mind has mirrored in theirs? Here is perhaps the most vulnerable point where I could be drawn to commit a

narcissistic hybris. I restrain, therefore, the references to the strictly necessary and neutral data.

It would be perhaps inadequate to say that after my departure from the village the Sovejans have gone on to consider me a member of the community. Surely, however, I have been considered a “son of the village.” This is still irrelevant, as the denomination “sons of the village” is uniformly applied in Romania to all the people who were born in a certain village, but, after training in high schools, changed the residence to practise their professions as physicians, engineers, teachers, etc. This phenomenon was determined by the modernizing of Romanian society after the World War II. Soveja has innumerable such “sons.” My singular privileged place among them is related to the *reflective* characteristic of my profession. I mean to say that anthropology allowed me to turn towards my village, with its inhabitants and their life style, as towards an *object* of exerting my profession.

The high frequency of my usual trips to the village met happily with the requirement of participant observation according to which the observer must stay in the observed community as much as possible. The good reputation of my parents as honest and capable householders reverberated also favorably upon the image I induced in my co-villagers’ eyes and, furthermore, upon our special interaction occasioned by my research. Finally, my own prestige as an intellectual with some performances at the national scale worked in those circumstances as a catalytic factor.

The emergent conclusion is that *studying one’s own birth locality can lead the process of knowing beyond aggression and humility*. The reason is that, generally, both aggression and humility involve a mood of suffering: this is supported by the object of study in one case, or assumed (almost entirely) by the epistemic mind in the other. In both cases, the suffering comes as an aftermath of the various hypostases of the role conflicts. But in the particular case of studying just the native locality, the main source of conflicts – namely, the distinction insider/outsider – does no longer work. If usually the integration is assured by participant observation, in this particular case we have an *integration by birth*.

I have to mention, nevertheless, that being born into the observed community is a necessary but not sufficient condition for going beyond the distinction between aggression and humility; it is necessary in addition that the ethnographer who approaches his/her native locality should have continuously kept in touch with the original community. As Fabian demonstrated (1983; see also Lowenthal 1996), researcher’s relationship to his/her object lies closely under the determination of time. Doing anthropology at home proper may prove once more that time is a source of otherness. The concrete population of any limited group refreshes permanently and it is only by reiterating his/her initial role of community member that the ethnographer can assure the continuity in time and space between this role and that of researcher. To exemplify, the role of “village’s son” has been and is for me a passive (but living!) role when I am in Bucharest, and becomes active whenever I go to Soveja. And when going there as a researcher, I feel the two roles not as mutually exclusive, but equally active by cumulation.

TOWARD A SYNTHESIS OF SELFNESS AND OTHERNESS

Paradoxically speaking, anthropology at home proper is and is not a particular case of anthropology at home. Both of them are nativistic approaches, the difference between them being that in anthropology at home the role conflicts can be as tensional as in anthropology of the other, while in anthropology at home proper they can disappear, at least theoretically. Otherwise, the two nativistic approaches are consensual and stay on a common ground. Any step towards the validation of one has as effect the reinforcement of the other. The main objection which the anthropology at home confronts with may also be addressed to the anthropology at home proper: it is contained in the problem of “distancing” or “defamiliarization.”

The problem of distancing is strongly linked to the older one of “otherness,” but the first remained latent until anthropologists’ coming back to their own society. In fact, the problem of distancing – suggesting to be the only way to objectivity – appeared as a signal against the emergent native anthropology. A confusion nourishes this fear. As a matter of fact, the predilection of anthropology for studying other cultures reflected the need of completing the perception on humankind as object of disciplinary study (Geană 1995). As soon as this perception became complete and made its effect on structuring a disciplinary pattern of anthropological science, otherness lost the status of *conditio sine qua non* of anthropology. If the idea of otherness has become today an obsession, this betrays a retardation into a *forma mentis* definitely justified at the beginnings (by the interest in newly discovered territories, peoples, and cultures), but illogical now. Certainly, the ethnographer is “positioned,” according to age, gender, and even to insider/outsider grid (Hastrup 1992: 119); it has been said, similarly, that knowledge is “perspectivistic” (Maquet 1964: 54), or “situated” (Haraway 1988), and a “strategy of defamiliarization” was proposed in order “to make the reader conscious of difference” (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 137). These issues are not newly discussed; they express the consecrated goal of Mannheim’s sociology of knowledge, namely the “conceptualization of knowledge-differentiation” (Hamilton 1974: 148 et al.).

However, the socio-structural differentiation cannot hinder the *unification of knowledge*. Differentiation occurs at the empirical level of science, which in the case of anthropology is usually labelled “ethnography.” Even at this level, a “cumulative ethnographic endeavor” (Wolcott 1981: 255) seems to be an exigence at hand of the “complete ethnographer” (Wolcott 1981: 265). The tough distinction between simple “words” (spoken by the natives) and “truths” (which would make up the outsider’s prerogative) (Hastrup 1993a: 177, 1993b: 155, 1995: 159) lies, *pace*, on a philosophical preconceived idea: generally called “spatialization of consciousness” (Florian 1939: 170–228), it appears in our case as a *spatialization of the epistemic mind*. As a matter of fact, it is only the ethnographic self that lends to spatialization; as for the rest, it lies in the epistemic mind’s power to go beyond the boundaries of different particular experiences. Lastly, science does not consist

in disjunction, but in unification of plural experiences. However surprisingly, the scientific explanation “makes what is unfamiliar intelligible in terms of what is familiar” (Nagel 1961: 45). There are, therefore, two strategies: both defamiliarization and familiarization. Their meanings are opposite to one another, but not mutually exclusive, because they operate at different levels. Defamiliarization of the ethnographic self has a real meaning only as the preliminary step towards the *despatialization of epistemic mind*. Classical approaching the other meant nothing else but the dislocation of the ethnographic self in order to prepare the higher *overspatial synthesis between selfness and otherness*.

There are three moments of this desirable synthesis, corresponding to three hypostases of a single anthropology as the science of humankind: anthropology of other cultures, anthropology at home, and anthropology at home proper. As practised by a human being called “anthropologist,” all of them face us as forms of self-knowledge. In the light of Dilthey’s hermeneutics (1981: 252–280), anthropology at home proper seems to be the most charged with the life experience (*Lebenserfahrung*) – an experience based on the capacity of researcher’s ego to transcend his/her own being – and, hence, the most apt to human understanding (*Verstehen*). Also, by joining currently separated roles – outsider/insider, observer/observed – anthropology at home proper seems able to bring the suffering of knowing (involved in both aggression and humility) down to the minimum.

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ENCOUNTERS IN THE WORKSHOPS: RECONSIDERING PATTERN, PLOT AND SPACE OF HOREZU POTTERY

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This article focuses on the case of Horezu pottery, considering the connections between craft continuity, history, heritage and practice. It draws on a wider body of research in which I am revisiting the 1957 collection of Romanian folk art at the Horniman Museum in London. In this context, I am researching the contemporary responses to the collection and the stories folk potters tell about the process and product of craftwork in the past and today. In this discussion, it is demonstrated that a focus on the traditional design from the perspective of the workshop provides nuanced insights on the artefacts and the myriad of relationships in which they come into being. Themes of relationships between object patterns, the social production of craft and the potters' taskscape were invoked during the conversations. Exploring the context of the pattern, life history and space in which Horezu pottery emerges, allows reconsideration of the wide range of activities and structures involved in the making of this craft. It is suggested that certain narratives and material practices triumph over others. The attention on specific stories as well the wider contexts of practice offers a potential to reimagine the Horezu artefacts in ethnographic and museum contexts.

Key words: craft, heritage, temporality, taskscape, narrative.

INTRODUCTION: NEW PATTERNS OF HERITAGE PRESENCES

The authentic Horezu potter uses certain glazes, designs and tools (Mihăescu 2005; Petrescu and Stahl 1958; Vladuțiu 1981). This symbolism is embedded in a specific set of values, as patterns connote "pre-Christian beliefs and are a landmark in arguing the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people. As a result, the ornamental pottery produced in Oboga and Horezu became the icon of Romanian identity, largely exhibited in national museums and international exhibitions (Iancu and Tesar 2008: 48).

The pattern demonstrates aesthetic and political taxonomies as well as scholarly understandings of authenticity. The material fabric of the object embodies its genuine origin and consequently, any material intervention threatens its status and

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provenance. This approach to modification is embedded in a specific framework of conservation practice where historic value and continuity through time are inherent in the lack of material change (see discussion in Jones and Yarrow 2013). Such perspective on the artefact demonstrates the fixed materialist paradigm of authenticity as “objective and measurable attribute inherent in the material fabric, form and function of artefacts” (Jones 2010: 182). This reductionist approach to material culture, prevalent in various forms of heritage expertise, embeds intangible culture in particular regimes of meaning and exchange (ibid). The authorised heritage discourse favours aesthetic material culture to be cared for, protected and passed down, identifying those who act as the “legitimate spokespersons for the past” (Smith 2006: 29). Folk art, it was pointed out, was implicated in several modernisation and nationalist projects that generated particular classificatory devices for the valuation of craft heritage (Iancu and Tesar 2008; Mihăilescu 2007; Popescu 2002).

Following the post-socialist deindustrialisation process, heritage and market futures became key strategies for development in the Horezu region. As state patronage retreated, civil organisations sprang up to secure funding for cultural initiatives and to promote the continuation of the craft in the area². The existing capital of local expertise, prestige and the previous state promotion became a backdrop against which new relationships were constituted and new forms emerged.

At the same time, the European Union became a significant factor in the reconstruction of regional identity, local development and the heritage management of the area. This on-going shift from national to supranational strategy has been apparent in several projects implemented in the area. In 2008, the Horezu Valley became one of the twenty European Destinations of Excellence for its intangible heritage and traditional assets. In 2009–2010, part of the Financial Mechanism of the European Economic Area initiated a EU-funded programme on local heritage protection³. Between 2010 and 2013, the local authorities run a project “Horezu Rooster – the Bastion of Sustainability of Romanian Ceramics”⁴ to promote the annual European fair “The Rooster of Horezu” with competitions in creativity,

² The Association of the Horezu Valley (Asociația Depresiunea Horezu), The Association of Folk Craftsmen ‘Rooster of Horezu’ (Asociația Meșterilor Populari „Cocoșul de Hurez”), The Association for the Promotion of Authentic Heritage in Horezu (Asociația pentru Promovarea Patrimoniului Autentic Horezu (APPAH) and The Foundation for Rural Civilisation ‘Peasants’ (Fundatia Națională pentru Civilizație Rurală „Niște Țărani”).

³ ‘Microregion Horezu – Revitalisation through Valuation of Historic Heritage’ (Microregiunea Horezu – revitalizare prin valorificarea patrimoniului istoric), recording and cataloguing the cultural heritage assets and local monuments, reporting the current state of conservation; overseeing urban planning and heritage protection regulations, providing measures for new initiatives, promoting better compliance with local specificity; developing cultural products (exhibitions, paintings, written work, video), promoting religious painting, intangible heritage, occupations and traditional products and training teachers on the awareness of heritage.

⁴ This initiative was co-organised with the Association of Horezu Depression and the Association of Folk Craftsmen ‘Rooster of Horezu’, using the funding of the Administration of National Cultural Fund (Administrația Fondului Cultural Național).

modelling and decoration of pots. In the course of the project, the local authorities sent delegations of potters to participate in similar events in Faenza (Italy) and La Galera (Spain). The aim was to reach a European public, create new networks, attract international visitors, collectors and specialists and bring Western European practitioners back to the town. In 2012, Horezu gained a new place on the map of European and universal heritage, inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The pottery centre's continuity gained world recognition.

In the context of post-socialist deindustrialisation and reconstruction of economy, tourism and cultural heritage protection programs are key factors for the development mediated by heritage brokers, local civic organisations and various funding bodies. The expertise of the heritage specialist, previously led by state institutions, has been delegated to these stakeholders and executed through global operational procedures. This new heritage regime (Bendix et al. 2012) through the application of global typological devices of listing, recording and conservation standards had a significant impact on the construction of Horezu craftsmanship.

Through these instruments, international actors legitimise a neutral narrative of identity based on the three-hundred-year continuity and craft transmission (Petrica 2011). As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observed, "heritage converting locations into destinations (...) makes them economically viable as exhibits of themselves" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 151). Horezu, by becoming a destination of a new kind has transformed the process of making pottery into a form of metacultural production (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004) with a particular trope on what constitutes its history and genuine cultural expressions. From emblematic nationalist folk art, Horezu pottery became framed as global intangible heritage listed and bureaucratised cultural performance with all its potentialities and limitations.

The scholarly frameworks of pottery emphasise the formal aspects of artefacts, framing and codifying the designs as signs within certain meanings and ossified values. The following section looks at how the seemingly fixed pottery design unlocks stories about historical change and current process of heritagisation.

NEGOTIATIONS IN THE ATELIER: ELICITING FRAGMENTED STORIES OF THE ROOSTER PATTERN

The conversations in the pottery workshops in 2012 often involved stories linking the folk pattern with the changing framework of practice. The analysis draws on two narratives about the design, considering the rooster pattern as vehicle of folk artists' views on the multiple pasts and presences of this craft.

During our discussions in their *ateliers*, most potters reminisced the socialist *Cooperativa Ceramica*⁵ as a well-organised workplace that provided opportunities for the artisans' development on the job. Following a period of apprenticeship

⁵ For the historical review of the cooperative see: Iancu and Tesar 2008.

within the enterprise under a master potter, new workers became responsible for specific operations on the production line, according to their skills. They were assigned to a working group (*echipa*) dealing specifically with the extraction and transport of clay, modelling, decorating or supervising the firing process. The *artisans* would work according to the norm, making for instance two hundred pieces of a particular model and size. To a large extent, the production was remembered as very advanced and technically refined – the cooperative had a German industrial clay mixer, some gas-operated kilns and various electric wheels. The process was supervised and quality-checked by master potters, ensuring that the pots met the requirements of the orders for their national and international clients. At the same time there were voices of discontent and memories of the coercive character of this form of organisation of craft labour.

According to Gabi, an eccentric and good-humoured potter in his late sixties, his father was forced to work in the cooperative. As Gabi⁶ suggested:

“People were not used to work this way... on the hour, on the hour. In the past, my father woke up as he pleased, ate, had a shower and worked. There was nothing imposed on him”.

Whereas the cooperative connoted notions of time control, in the post-socialist period, he claimed, there was a return to work individually, unsupervised and working for pleasure. This return to the household workshop was in Gabi's view a sign of autonomy. For women, he noted, it meant a possibility to reconnect production and childcare; as they were able to make pots in the house workshop. In the 1980s, the renown of traditional Horezu pottery spread across the country. Consequently, the possibility of home-based work arose for others and more artisans could work as folk artists from household studios. In the 1990s, as the privatisation of craftsmanship became an alternative to the shrinking job market, new workshops appeared on Potters' Street and around the town. The makers were the descendants of the folk potter families, former cooperative *artisans* and new craftsmen looking for ways to combat growing unemployment. Under the market economy, objects are sold in situ or as individual commissions via craft markets and middlemen. There are orders from souvenir shops, restaurants or international customers.

It has been noted that authenticity is actively produced in the process of commoditisation of culture that favours particular identities to be staged or sold (Cohen 1988; Dicks 2003; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 2004). For Constantin (2009b), Romanian crafts are hybrids produced through the active negotiations of two systems of meaning: the local representations of utilitarian domestic occupations and external imaginaries of their peasant character with “philosophical and aesthetic qualities, being traditionally “wise”, “genuine”, “beautiful”, “everlasting”” (Constantin 2009b: 17). Constantin asserted that Romanian artisans were engaged in a struggle to maintain a sense of autonomy “within their craftwork and towards political

⁶ The names of the research participants have been changed.

regimes of others” (ibid). In the post socialist market economy they constantly worked to balance their status as folk artists and producers in a complex field of institutional and commercial relationships. Constructions of authenticity were key to these negotiations.

Thinking through the narratives about the regained autonomy and the retreat to the domestic studio, this increasingly privatised landscape of craftsmanship is related to the changing sense of time for several potters. E.P. Thomson (1967) provides a useful context in the understanding of how the potters’ sense of time is interwoven with ceramic symbolism. E.P. Thompson argued that in the domestic mode of production of peasantry or artisans, there is a specific task orientation and time-sense, affecting the patterns of social understandings of the passing of time. In the artisan contexts time apprehension is linked to interconnectedness between life and work. The working day is flexible (Thompson 1967: 60) and dependent on the synchronisation of subsidiary tasks (ibid: 70)⁷. Investigating the history of time discipline, Thompson observed that as working patterns increasingly became punctuated by industrial clock-time, they were also linked to more synchronised activity in the industrial manufacturing techniques (ibid: 80). The industrial man was born out of the discipline of labour and temporality.

Verdery (1996) demonstrated significant connections between the constructions of personhood in socialist Romania through time discipline. The new temporal punctuations (ritual and daily) led to ‘*etatisation of time*’ in the nexus of the challenging social conditions and the notion of individual and his self-realisation. As the state penetrated life on an extraordinary scale, it intruded into personal and communal schedules of the citizens through various practices, from state celebrations, compulsory meetings, manifestations and bureaucratic activities such as queuing in shops. In consequence, the control of citizens’ lives through the constant intimate state presence led to the transformation of personhood and an erosion of sociability. At the same time, “these links between the self and the etatisation of time help us to understand better the regime’s profound lack of legitimacy” (Verdery 1996: 56).

The temporal arrangements of the workplace and state, it was pointed out, have significant implications for the notion of personhood in the context of labour and political structures. In the narrative of the rooster, the design could be interpreted as metaphor of the negotiations of the potters’ conceptions of work rhythms and a sense of self. The potter is strongly self-identified with the rooster – an early bird, working autonomously and displaying certain nonchalance in relation

⁷ The historical case studies, analysed by E. P. Thompson bear resemblance with Horezu. For instance, the work habits and irregularity of rhythm in task orientation were exemplified by the case of ‘An Old Potter’, written in 1903, describing the customs of English potters in the 1830s and 1840s, working according to irregular rhythms, at their own pace and with periods of non-activity. The author, a Methodist preacher, wrote that they ‘*The children and women came to work on Monday and Tuesday but a ‘holiday feeling’ prevailed and the day’s work was shorter than usual, since the potters were away a good part of the time, drinking their earnings of the previous week.*’ (ibid, 75). For the author of the ‘Old Potter’, regularity could be improved through the mechanisation of the pot-banks and regulation of industrial operations.

to the wider environment. In the post-socialist period, the potters returned to a time sense based on idioms of work measured by a sense of completion of a specific task. The privatised working environment of the atelier was seen as more meaningful, facilitating rewarding work and bringing a sense of control. This idiom of value, rather than a commoditised capitalist one is related to the use rather than management of time, as it can be either wasted or used with purpose (Heintz 2006: 145). Gabi's reflection about his father's imposed "on the hour" discipline expressed the dissatisfaction with cooperative time discipline and a positive evaluation of the newly acquired freedom of regaining the task-oriented personalised rhythm of the day and redirecting the influence of the etatisation of time. The unmaking of the working class of Horezu artisans in the 1980s created a notion of being a craftsman as being in possession of time. By becoming folk artists, Horezu potters strategically returned to the home workshop, reversed the modern project of the state and regained their autonomy and task-based organisation of labour. From 'new men' and socialist workers they re-conceptualised themselves as artisans and folk masters.

The rooster does not tell one fixed story but serves to facilitate multidirectional conversations about practice. In Horezu today, group identity is often mediated through the design, an increasingly codified image. The president of the local pottery association mentioned the rooster had become the potters' *brand*, an emblem of identification distinguishing the authentic maker from the producer of *kitsch* or usurper from outside the centre. This representational form of authenticity has recently been legally protected through the recognition of the rooster image as a protected trademark under Romanian law. The tourist office and the local cultural centre are promoting a unified visual language of designs, organising discussions with craftsmen with suggestions on the preservation of the authentic character of the craft.

The collective effort taken by the potters' association to protect the pattern as a registered trademark is a sign of solidarity as well as competitiveness. The protection effort has been framed as a response to the inflow of imitations contaminating the market. This conflicting landscape of practice is played out in the space of the town itself. Several potters warned me about the area at the edge of the town with street traders (Iancu and Tesar 2008) selling kitsch made outside Horezu. This border-zone was the newcomer's first point of contact with the town.



Figure 1. 'We don't sell products from China and Bulgaria', pottery shop door notice in Horezu.

The usurpers' objects (Hungarian, Chinese or Bulgarian) sold in the stalls at the entrance to Horezu produce economic insecurities that were not addressed by the retreating state, new instruments of transnational protection of cultural property and heritage branding are being welcomed and lobbied for by the potters. Becoming a trademark, increasingly fixed decorative schemes are material manifestations of the transforming reality of practice interlinked to the effects of transition, market competition and heritage classifications.

According to Rowlands (1993), in the inscribed forms of cultural transmission, prevalent in the European material culture and heritage practice, "people are exposed constantly to highly visible examples of material objects invested with authoritative credibility" (Rowlands 1993: 142). In this light, heritage practices and institutions fetishise durability, repetition of form, authenticity, the notion of origin as "the link between past, present and future is made through their materiality". (ibid). Navigating the categories and inscriptions of heritage and tourist industries, the potters of Horezu mediate their practice within the aesthetic economy of repetition and the frameworks of the new heritage and market infrastructure. Whereas the folk artist under socialism competed on the creative scene, the living heritage craftsman is expected to carry on transmitted the increasingly authoritative pattern of craft transmission and design.

Rather than stable and permanent, the meanings of design and craft community are continuously shifting and endowed with relational understandings. The emic perspective from the workshops showed that folk pattern could be a starting point in the investigation of the multiple negotiations in relation to material practice, change and the self-identification of the makers. Some potters' stories on the rooster emphasized personal achievement and qualities that constituted their uniqueness, creativity and crafty navigational skills. At the same time, the rooster is a protective shield of the positioning of the potters' community and a symbol of increasing heritagisation of the craft practice (Leblon 2012; Poria 2010; Sanchez-Carretero 2012; Walsh 1992). Rather than a set idiom of Romanian identity, the pattern correlates with the various phenomena of adaptation and negotiation of craft selves occurring in the Horezu workshops.

HERITAGISED LIVES: ON TASKSCAPES AND PLOTS

Thinking about the wider relationships of skilled practice, Ingold (2000) argued that forms of activity are performed socially, are mutually interconnected and constitute meaning in the context of their ensemble, a wider taskscape. As tasks are interlocked social activities occurring in time, Ingold pointed to the social temporality of cultural production. The concept of taskscape provides a valuable framework for analysing craft in its movements and rhythms as well as time and place.

Making ceramics in Horezu is a combination of material and discursive tasks played out in time and space. One of the key tasks of the Horezu potter is an ability to create an authentic narrative of craftsmanship and knowledge transmission. The

potters' narratives on craft learning and making the household studio are illuminative of what being a Horezu folk artist means today. The life-stories and workshops environments are sites of self-identification and legitimation within the potters' community and in the wider context of institutions and discourses surrounding this craft practice.

The potters often tell a story of having been taught by their parents at home and born into the profession. The common part of the life histories is a narrative about early childhood memory of playing with clay. It follows with a storyline of an organic learning process that results in the point of current mastery. One potter declared that such tradition of knowledge transmission has been uninterruptedly continued in their families for the last one hundred twenty one years. Others, less specific, claimed that the family has been engaged in the production for generations. The romanticised notion of learning through pleasurable presence in the workshop conceals the nature of pottery as coping strategy in the post-socialist period. The narratives on entering the craft reveal the historical dimensions of craft training and transmission of knowledge beyond the script communicated in ethnographic exhibitions and heritage institutions.

Andrei, the son of a potter renowned in the socialist period, learnt the trade from his father in the 1990s, after he was made redundant in his "bureaucratic job". Rodica worked in commerce and decided to try pottery after a series of insufficiently paid positions as a hotel receptionist. The owner of one of the first households on Pottery Street learnt the craft in high school but after graduation worked in industry. The closure of factory in the 1990s made him to consider relearning the profession from his father-in-law. Today he and his wife have work exclusively in ceramics. In fact, the number of folk potters in the area increased as a result of the post-socialist transformation. As after the 1989 revolution those employed in the cooperative were left without work, they set up home-based studios, learning from their parents, other family members, neighbours or other craftsmen in the area. These new potters in various degrees entered the networks of partnerships with museums and craft markets. One family is perceived by the curators as living heritage and regularly produces artefacts for museum acquisitions and souvenir shops. At the same time, this family is locally seen as an inauthentic newcomer and the head of the household is said to be "just a shepherd" that had learnt the trade in his forties from a neighbour. The story is part of the interplay of solidarity and hostility amongst the makers. Potters switch the registers of storytelling about life history and craft transmission depending on the audience and circumstances.

I see their ways of telling craft stories about themselves as a form of narrative activity (Gubrium and Holstein 1998). In particular, I consider person in relation to practice:

"The person – the actor – is addressed by people and forces and institutions external to himself or herself and responds using the words, genres, actions and practices of others. In time, the person is forming in practice and so are the cultural resources that the person adapts to author himself or herself in the moment. (...)

Thus, local practice is significant for the continuing formation of institutional arrangements in socio-historic time/space.” (Holland and Lave 2009: 4).

Thinking through public time and narrative in Horezu illuminates the process of constructing and reconstructing identity that plays a role in mediating history and on-going practice (ibid). The production of craft persons is related to interwoven and often contested domains of local cultural production and intimate embodied identities that result in a particular “history-in-person” (ibid).

The narrative mechanisms through which craftsmen are mediated and communicated are ordered in a particular sequence. For Ricoeur (1980), storytelling gives meaning to the experience of time, constructing narrative identities through the intentional creation of a plot as well as through meaningful action. The narrative is an inherently performative phenomenon and the acts of “recitation” and public storytelling incorporate the story into a community, gathering it together through social practice of plots performed within public time (Ricoeur 1980: 175).

In this context, telling stories of pleasurable child education of craft creates a plot that legitimises the maker in front of the external public time and heritage discourse. At the same time, its public character serves as a community-building device, bringing together makers with the same chronology of practice, transgressing the storms of lived history. Narratives bring the makers together; giving the plot a common pattern and sequence. In their story, craftsmanship is linear and regular; one generation of makers replaces the set of previous practitioners in a sequential continuity.

Folk art is a pleasure of the atelier. This insertion of life history, in the narrative of learning in the parental workshop, performs a function for the identity and self-presentation of the potter as a legitimate craftsman. In Horezu, the self-presentation of a master maker is supported by the art of storytelling. Self-presentation is a constant narrative act of grasping together two time-points: of the learning process and current excellence in the quality of production, creativity and respect for traditional models and techniques ... all embedded in the memory of being a child playing in the workshop. In Ricoeur’s words, Horezu potters are characters in a quest of continuity and “the quest has been absorbed into the movement by which the hero – if we may still call him by that name-becomes who he is. Memory, therefore, is no longer the narrative of external adventures stretching along episodic time. It is itself the spiral movement that, through anecdotes and episodes, brings us back to the almost motionless constellation of potentialities that the narrative retrieves. The end of the story is what equates the present with the past, the actual with the potential. The hero is who he was (Ricoeur 1980: 186).

In this life history narrative, the authentic Horezu potter has grown up in the atelier with its traditional tools, patterns and operations. Kin-based apprenticeship is of value in the categories framing the pure repository of folk art. The plot perpetuates the idealised mentoring process and serves as metaphor of genuine status and reputation of the makers. The art of storytelling to communicate the

authentic origins of the craftsperson has a particular intended effect as understood by Gell (1998). As Kingston (1999) suggested: "The technology of enchantment relates specifically to the power of origination and those regarded as responsible. Origination also has a special role in the Western imagination of authenticity, which has the same root, *auctor*, as both author and its subsidiary, authority." (Kingston 1999: 344)

The magical effect of the potter's authenticity acts in a similar way to the technology of enchantment and connotes ideas of enchanting origination and authority of the maker's unique craft knowledge.

Authenticity is performed through the itinerary of the socially desirable craft biography and constitutes the temporality of the potters' taskscape (Ingold 2000: 196). The plot of the intimate personal memory is facilitated by the public representations. Potters aware of the values and distinctions associated with the craft, maintain the story of exclusive origin of skill through play, a narrative being a significant factor for their choice of what type of memories are chosen to be publicly evoked or negated. In this context of pure origins, the experience of learning in the cooperatives, knowledge transmission from the peers, neighbours, in the schooling system or apprenticeship appears unworthy to be told. Other learning environments, of significant presence in the experience of Horezu makers of the last forty years, are not mobilised as a base for self-presentation.

These selective life stories and reminiscences of learning are situated between biography and discourse, generating public narratives in Ricoeur's sense and producing social consequences. The landmarks of learning and absences of experience demonstrate how life-history relates to the genre of story-telling (Haukanes 2005). There is much at stake in successful storytelling – the narrative is a prerequisite of maintaining the status. The continuous transmission of knowledge along family lines has been one of the key categories of authorised heritage discourse both in the socialist period and today, within UNESCO's categories of the craft as intangible heritage of outstanding universal value. Currently, in market and tourist encounters, the potters perpetuate the narrative promoted by this interpretation. The story plays a public role in the process of heritagisation through the rendering of biography. This task is completed skilfully by the folk artists. They use these narratives to fit into the official chronology of craft transmission and to maintain their status and neo-traditional identity within the collective of legitimate makers. The narrative community is increasingly characterised by new internal and external divisions of practitioners according to the values assigned by museums and tourist offices as well as by the craftsman themselves.

In the context of the workshop today, how did the potters perceive different categories of practitioners?

In the socialist period, there was space for both folk artists and workers-artisans, the makers could choose to enter the museum-folk art fair networks or be employed by the cooperative. The dissolution of the cooperative industry in the 1990s led to the unemployment of a vast number of artisan potters and other types of craftsmen. Those, living in the Potters Street benefited from the rise of heritage

industry, entered the growing folk art market and became elements of the intangible cultural heritage. Others, who could not set up a workshop, act as waged labourers for the first category of makers, with an increasingly inferior status of anonymous workers. These waged marginalised craftsmen, a product of the post-socialist closure of the cooperative, seemed to mirror the pre-industrial era category of journeymen moving from one master to another to do small jobs.

Considering the emerging divisions within the community of makers, it is interesting to revisit the issue of pottery and status. As Bourdieu (1984) observed, “potters who call themselves ‘art craftsmen’, or technicians who claim to be engineers are (...) strategies, like all processes of competition (...) The negotiations between antagonistic interest groups, which arise from the establishment of collective agreements and which concern, inseparably, the tasks entailed by a given job, the properties required of its occupants (e.g., diplomas) and the corresponding advantages, both material and symbolic (the name), are an institutionalised, theatrical version of the incessant struggles over the classifications which help to produce the classes, although these classifications are the product of the struggles between the classes and depend on the power relations between them” (Bourdieu 1984: 481).

Bourdieu’s insight is useful in grasping the relationships amongst the contemporary makers. In this context, the symbolic boundaries between actors are embedded in practice and generate status groups engaged in classificatory struggle. These struggles of prestige can be played out in narratives as words, people and things are being placed in a hierarchical order. Craft community solidarity is often embedded in distinctions and as Kondo pointed out, “solidary communities are based on the exclusion of the unskilled” (Kondo 1990: 230).

The problem of emerging distinctions is linked to the issue of the plot. Returning to Ricoeur, by adopting the generational logic in our interpretation of the past, we risk creating a problematic fictive narrative of sequential chains of memories and practices that could be continuously extended to the past as a “retention of retentions” (Ricoeur 1980: 114). Heritage frameworks tend to view traditional craft as a form of retention, fixing the past into transmittable wholes. Key to this story is a narrative of undisturbed traditional transmission of craft knowledge, as illustrated by the UNESCO nomination:

“All practice this traditional craft passed on as a family activity, with several generations working in the workshops. The craftsmanship is passed down from generation to generation using the same methods and techniques inherited from their ancestors.” (Petrica 2011: 2)

In the case of Horezu, adopting the exclusively family-based model provides a limited view on the craft. This framework creates a distorted image of how, why and under what conditions the craft has been learned, abandoned or taken over in the historical context of post-war Romania. Alongside the pleasant experience of the child in the atelier, there exists a wider range of learning environments constituted through various interactions and activities in both informal and formal settings. After the decline of the cooperative, the economic constraints and the architecture of the heritage industry have generated new communities and

categories of inclusion and exclusion, with designated potters' dynasties, authorised craftsmen, new families involved in the practice and a network of journeymen-like waged workers, unprotected labourers employed by other makers. There is a tendency towards growing distinctions between these groups with a significant decrease in status for the post-cooperative artisans affected by deskilling, growing insecurity and lack of access to a workshop. Along with the heritagisation of life histories and skills, these new forms of division of practitioners might be more prevalent today as the possession of traditional workshop and family history becomes a marker of genuine and necessary element of making pottery in the town. As selected potters become listed, registered and catalogued as elements of the intangible cultural heritage, new spheres of distinction are being reified, creating social distance and limited chances for the unprotected labourers.

Understanding these life histories as narrative devices of community, self-identity and autonomy brings insights into the current typologies of those involved in the production of ceramics in Horezu. Exploring the complexity of narrative time and labour rhythms (with its metaphors embedded in the pattern) as opposed to the time of the authorised heritage discourse, it is useful to reconsider the idiom of craftsmanship as a lineal intergenerational affair. These understandings undermine the historical experiences and downplay other avenues of transmission. In result, the plot is increasingly fixed and does not allow for alternative narratives. The following section considers one of the material aspects of practice that became the main anchor of the craftsman's taskscape and plot – the Horezu workshop.

THE TASK OF DOMESTICATED AUTHENTICITY

For Ingold (2000), taskscapes are embedded in landscapes and places are constituted as embodied forms of activity. The features of places are constituted along the lines of taskscapes and are incorporated in the flow of practice (2000: 198). Considering places as congealed with tasks shows how the everyday spaces of the Horezu craftsmen perform in the wider array of the potters' activities.

Visiting Potters' Street, the first impression is of walking into the space of a medieval guild. Typically, the façade of each building is covered in plates produced by the residents of the house. There is a heritage name plaque placed next to the door and various pots are scattered around the yard and on the fence. Stepping into the yard through the gate, the visitor is invited to visit the workshop. There, under the diplomas certifying the potters' prizes gained in national craft markets or folk art festivals, freshly made pots are available for purchase. If the visitors have special requirements, the potter might take them to the domestic space, the kitchen or the living room where more pots are stored. The households of potters who used to be renowned folk artists under socialism have private exhibitions of historical pieces and one created a special dedicated space of a private museum, displaying the oeuvre of the family. The domestic space is key for self-presentation in Horezu and constitutive of the status of the craftsman.

The households of the Potters Street are currently public and commercial emblems and exhibiting is one of the main activities in the production of the craftsman identity. The space becomes a hybrid of interlinked private and public spheres. Exhibition of production processes takes place during public demonstrations – making occurs in front of the public gaze, voyeuristic pleasure of tourists, heritage experts and clients. Heritagisation modifies the content of the workplace and, whereas before the potters would have sold all their produce, now they have become conservators of their works. These presentations are public articulations of skill, illustrating the importance of the discursive component in this craft. Labour experience becomes reified, aestheticised and performed in the spectacle of heritage. The intimate private setting serves to legitimise the public role of the heritage craftsman.



Figure 2. Front room in a household of the Potter's street.



Figure 3. Boutique run by one of the potters at the entrance to Horezu.

As Horezu develops its status as a tourist destination, the fashioning of the household studio reaches a new level of elaboration. Two younger potters have relocated from the Potters Street to the main road at the entrance to the town. These purpose-built structures are manifestations of the space-based competition over resources in the heritage industry. The buildings are designed primarily as shopping areas with dedicated galleries and workshops incorporated within the commercial space. In one case, the surroundings are constructed for public use – the garden is planned as a pleasant environment for the tourist to stroll amongst greenery between the store and the workshop. As domestic spaces are relocated in order to be publicly available, the beneficial position allows the selected potters to attract the first incomers to their house-studios.

The creation of the studio spectacle is embedded within a range of practices of self- construction. The task of making the atelier is a sign of the metacultural production of workplace to fit the idiom of heritage; the studio is both authentically

local and universal at once (Herzfeld 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). The heritagised space of the workshop with its emblematic toolkit serves as a material form emphasizing continuity. The *domesticated* workplace connotes a long tradition, a particularly intimate relationship with the craft. Those who demonstrate a house-based skilled practice are the possessors of a particular familiarity with the craft.

Increasingly the value of the maker is fixed in the production of the place, an essentialist notion of craftsmanship linked to the museum-house, the spectacle-studio, the commercialised and heritagised space of work. The studio is a part of the inscribed practices framing Horezu craftsmanship where “objects are culturally constructed to connote and consolidate the possession of past events associated with their use or ownership” (Rowlands 1993: 145). It is a reified metaphor manifesting legitimate practice and the possession of a particular status within the community of makers and the global hierarchy of value framing traditional artisanship (Herzfeld 2004).

CONCLUSION

Horezu potters are involved in a set of tasks including design choices, storytelling and spatial practices. Rather than mechanically reproducing the idiom of heritage or economic models, they act upon them generating materialised responses and developing an extended dynamic repertoire of tasks. These intimate practices have a resonance with embodied histories as well as the maker’s own sense of individual identity and technical mastery. I argued that making artefacts is an activity embedded in network of distinctions, meanings and categories. The patterns are an intersection of these forces, decisions and restrictions, becoming a material manifestation of objectified performances and the changing interactions between the makers and their social worlds. They are strongly embedded in the politics of value and the relationships between the craft practitioners, the state and several new heritage actors (such as UNESCO), framing the socio-economic status and the prestige of the potters.

The ensemble of activities, choices, dependencies, inclusions and exclusions is the complex taskscape of their practice (Ingold 2000). Becoming a Horezu potter involves a whole range of manual, narrative, material and social skills, including storytelling about the self, cultural transmission and the ability to create material environments of conspicuous display. In order to resist marginalisation, the makers generate a taskscape of stories, objects and material as well as spatial practice. Only through these complex negotiations, can they escape obliteration (as usurpers, reproductive workers or newcomers) and engage with the changing social representations, hierarchies of value and historical events in which these activities are embedded. In this sense, the fashioning of the self and of the space in which the profession is enacted are key components of the taskscape by which the potters regenerate (rather than merely invent) their craft’s tradition. Reassessing the craft through the multiple voices from the workshop allows to recontextualise the artefacts and the tasks of this craft beyond.

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COLLECTIVE FOREST PROPERTY IN KOUPA.
SOCIO-HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES
RELEVANT FOR AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF BALKANS

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The present study is intended to be a contribution to a general anthropology of Balkans on the forest collective property theme. As a case study, it is analyzed the forest property in severalty from Koupa, a small village from the northern Greece. The comparative enterprise takes into account other instances of the same type of property both from Greece, and especially from Romania. A preliminary conclusion is that the juridical forms of management and sharing of benefit often are in opposition with common law forms. For Koupa, the facts disclose absolute joint ownership nostalgia. This kind of ownership presupposes that each owner has an equal and free access to forest resource and to benefit generated by it.

Key words: regional anthropology, forest, joint ownership, moral duty, moral economy.

INTRODUCTION

Koupa is a small mountain village in the North of Greece, with no more than one hundred and fifty households, of which only a few dozen are permanently inhabited. From an administrative point of view, it belongs to the Paionia δήμος (municipality), Kilkis νομός (prefecture). Located in close proximity to the border of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.O.M)³, Koupa is situated at the end of a road which begins in Thessaloniki, goes through the towns of Polikastro and Axioupoli, turns left near Skra village, adding up to almost 100 km. The village population has Megleno-Wallachian origins, being one of the six neighbouring villages of the Wallachian populated region⁴.

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³ Acronym used in international documents.

⁴ The other five are: Skra, Livadhia, Arhanghelos, Perikleia and Langadhia (the last four are in Pella prefecture).

As in any other Greek village, the tavern (promoted as a coffee shop on the advertisements and on the building billboard) is primordially a socialisation place. This should be the destination of any newly arrived researcher for getting first-hand information, as well as the place where he/she should return for learning new, more and more consistent information. A “hazardous” remark made on the tavern terrace – opening towards an ample amphitheatre panorama of the village – about the abundant forests covering the mountain slopes and peaks and closing the horizon all around, leads to a brief narration of the forests history, made by a local villager. The researcher, regardless of his/her interest, will soon understand that the forest, especially its history, is a highly important identity landmark for the inhabitants of the small Greek village.

In this article, we focus our efforts on making a socio-historical map – founded upon the social memory –, doubled by a comparison attempt with similar instances in Romania, of the social relations universe generated by collective forest property in Koupa, as mentioned in the title. The purpose and the methodology of this analysis are anthropological, both the fieldwork and the general written approach of the theme. More specifically, the anthropological hall-mark targets a regional anthropology (Geană 2005: 117; Lévi-Strauss 1963: 370), where the “anthropological anchorage” takes into account populations intensely influencing each other through the games of history (the Balkan Region in this study). Methodologically speaking, the research team also includes a researcher who is familiar with the local language and cultural idiom, following a long stay in or around the researched community. His role is that of an expert in what is sometimes called “indigenous knowledge” (Warren 1991)⁵. On the other hand, we are looking for a balance between the anthropologist’s “patience” and the sociologist’s “precision” (Mihăilescu 2007: 92-93). It concerns the patient use of qualitative methods in order to reach precision. Tuning in with this precision is what urges us to place the results of our research in the antechamber of the scientific truth for the moment. A number of factors contribute to this, of which some worth mentioning are: a) the use of native language at a level which proved somewhat inadequate for noticing in-depth nuances; b) alternative discourses on the same reality⁶, c) the fact that we were not in the possession of certain official documents which turned out to be necessary during the research etc. Therefore, we include this article in the tentative paper category. The aim of this article is to bring some contribution – within the limits already mentioned – to certain development directions of what the title names “anthropology of Balkans”, regarding the theme of collective forest property⁷.

⁵ This research method seems feasible for Romania, with regards to the Balkan area. We will describe this on another occasion.

⁶ It was noticed that this was not an anomaly, but more a consequence of the social memory functioning. One of the landmarks used by the authors of the book called *Social Memory*, James Fentress and Chris Wickham, was Roman Jakobson, who reaches the conclusion that a story changes its content when passed on from one generation to another, just like in the case of individual memory (Fentress and Wickham, 1992: 40). Therefore, alternative discourses make almost impossible the search for the “true” version.

⁷ Based on the same theme, but specifically linked to the connection between *property* and

Within the same patience-precision dialectics, a brief comparative look will bring balance – at the level of the theme that interests us – to what Franz Boas (1982: 643-644) called “desires of human mind”: the affective impulse and the aesthetic impulse. The first one designates the attachment towards knowing world events in their uniqueness, while the second implies a tendency towards order, which can only be reached by discovering laws and general regulations. Before reaching such a discovery though, our comparative study is only a project which outlines future punctual and detailed research directions using comparative means of anthropological motives connected to the wider theme of collective forest property.

BRIEF SOCIO-HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF COLLECTIVE FOREST PROPERTY

The windows of the same tavern mentioned above are also display areas for various notices with the heading Αναγκαστικός Δασικός Σηνεταρισμός Διαχειρήσεως Αδιαίρετου Δάσους Κούπας, translated as the The Forest Association with Anangastikos Administration in Severalty⁸ of the Koupa Forest. The adjective anangastikos, which is translated in a Romanian dictionary as “forced”, “imposed”, “constrained”, “strained” (Brad-Chisacof 2007: 47), we prefer to keep it untranslated for now, and we will come back to its translation and importance when necessary. Therefore, we are talking of a forest association. It was established in 1961, based on a legal framework which attempts to formalize in an uniform manner this type of properties in Greece (as written in the Metamorfosi association by-laws, or in the restructuring in the same framework of the Rodhohori association, both of them in Naousa Prefecture, having historical backgrounds different to the Koupa association).

We will try to reconstitute the social and historical development of our association, helped by social memory. Putting together piece by piece fragments of interview, dialogues, ad-hoc discussions, observations and information obtained by hazard, expressions and attitudes, we try to have a coherent image of this development. At the same time, we are not yet in the possession of the by-laws of the association which was established in 1961, which could have ensured the “official” grounds of epistemic verification of the collective property development

authority (p. 173), and having a similar structure (description and analysis of situations occurred in the field, plus a comparative process, doubled by the appropriate theoretical frame) we have the article written by Thomas Sikor, Johannes Stahl and Stefan Dorondel, “Negotiating Post-Socialist Property and State: Struggles over Forests in Albania and Romania”. It is likely that this article is one of the path breakers of a well configured anthropology of the Balkans and, why not?!, of a *Balkan anthropology*. With regards to terminology, the term used to be “anthropology from South-Eastern Europe” (as in the title of the volume *Themes of social anthropology in South-Eastern Europe. Volume dedicated to the memory of Professor Paul Stahl*, Bucharest: Paideia, 2010, coordinated by Stelu Șerban). Yet, this latter term will need to have a wider extension and to explicitly take into account social and cultural phenomena in the Republic of Moldova and in Ukraine.

⁸ “Severalty” having here the meaning “not divisible”.

from 1961 to date. With the “patience” mentioned above, the research is ongoing, hoping to find such documents in the near future. The epistemic verification provided by carefully studying the by-laws will not guarantee the real dynamics of this development, especially when it concerns access to benefits following collective property. A series of other mechanisms occur between official provisions and the empiric distribution of benefits, the social ones having significant importance (Ribot 1988: 335, 336). Deciphering their functioning implies a return to research techniques which are specific to social anthropology – discussions, interviews, observations etc.

We place the origins of Koupa forest collective property, leading to the establishment of the association, in the second half of the 19th century. The historical context is given by events which started on March 25th 1821, the revolution against the Ottoman ruler in the Peloponnisos region, events leading to the entire Greek territory becoming free (except for the Asian part) as a result of the Balkan wars taking place during the first half of the second decade of the 20th century. It seems that the village center was back then where it is now, following the times when, terrified by the Turkish threat, the local population was scattered in a number of hamlets, more difficult to control, or the times of successive relocations caused by a plague epidemics, if we were to believe a local legend (Papatsata 1997: 222-224). The forest was bought from the Turkish administrator in return for an oka (unit of measurement – 1520 ml) of gold, representing the contribution of the entire village. In the social memory, there is a document listing each villager’s contribution, which would have subsequently legitimized access to financial benefits resulting from forest logging. In time, the list got “lost”; even if it hadn’t been, the fragmentation of rights following succession would have unavoidably led to discords (and even murder, it seems) related to dividing the money. In fact, the entire development of the Koupa forest collective property is caught in the net of these tensions in two areas: that of rights (especially before 1961) and the way these rights were passed on (especially after 1961).

Still, it is improper to talk about forest prior to the establishment of the association. The land purchased from the Turkish administrator seems to have had pasturing as a main destination. In the times discussed, Koupa was a pasture-peasant community, preoccupied by subsistence agriculture and animal breeding, especially sheep. Herds amounted up to dozens or even hundreds of sheep. The pastures were only used in summer, wintering taking place either in the village – for smaller herds – or on the lowlands situated up to 200 km away (in Halkidhiki prefecture, for example) – for larger herds – which means we are dealing with a type of shepherding known in the ethnological literature as “ample transhumance shepherding” (Dunăre 1972: 214-215). More certain for the period we are talking about is sheep wintering in the lands of Axios, a few tens of kilometers away⁹.

⁹ Axios river (called Vardari in F.Y.R.O.M.) enters Greece close to the border village Idhomeni, 25 km North-East of Koupa, passes through the small towns Polikastro and Axioupoli and flows into Thermaikos Gulf of the Aegean Sea, West of Thessaloniki.

During summer, access to pasturing was unlimited on the land bought, regardless of the type and number of animals. At that moment, the forest, which only existed in valleys and inaccessible slopes improper for pasturing, was an insignificant resource and was probably used in the same system as a pasture. There are no clues that the land purchased had also been used for agriculture. Wheat, corn and rice were cultivated on plots of land held privately by each household. The harmony of ad-litteram use of collective lands is disturbed when it enters the capitalization system, by being leased for pasturing, and using wood as charcoal etc. A council consisting of three people was responsible for administering and dividing the benefits, the same council in charge of the κοινότητα¹⁰, which allows the use of the term “village forest”. The fragmenting of rights after two-three generations by inheritance, resulting in fragmented financial benefits, led to profound discontent.

In this context, the association was established in 1961, with an administration board consisting of five members. Each villager married at the time of the establishment became associated member with a quota, equal for all members. The way things were before has been completely ignored. In fact, it is unknown today whether the documents listing the contribution of each member at the time of purchase (as previously mentioned), and the rights owned prior to the association establishment, still exist. Forest became the main resource, invading the entire land by natural regeneration. Post-war events led to almost complete ceasing of pasturing. Therefore, during the civil war, which took place between 1946-1949¹¹, the village, afraid of the communist αντάρτες¹², is completely abandoned and the population took refuge in the small towns located in Axios planes, much better protected. Then, at the end of the '50s and beginning of '60s, mass migration to Western Germany occurred, for better paid jobs. Forests invaded not only the joint land, but also private held uncultivated lands, subsequently included in the association. There is no other way to explain why in 1931 there are 1450 ha mentioned, and the association had almost 3000 ha. Of course, following the same context of “losing” certain document and property titles.

Initially represented as a method to equalize rights, the association proved to be exclusivist from the very beginning. The people who got married right after the establishment of the association were not able to become members and were excluded from any benefits. The number of members remained relatively constant: from 140 in 1961 to 149 today¹³. Nowadays, the situation prior to the establishment

¹⁰ *Koinotita*, “community”. It can also be translated at “collectivity”. It is an administrative unit inferior to the mayor’s office, specific for communities with a few hundred inhabitants. In the period discussed, the population of Koupa was a bit more than 300 inhabitants. Today, Koupa is part of Skra *koinotita*.

¹¹ War between communist and government forces.

¹² *Andartis*, “rebel”, “insurgent”, “instigator”, “guerrilla fighter”, “partisan” (Brad-Chisacof 2007: 66).

¹³ A moment in history is mentioned where eighty members of the associations were “erased”. For the exact localization of this moment, the context and the verification of the information, a new field work is required.

of the association seems to repeat itself. The wood necessity for household needs – constantly increasing during the past few years due to the rise of petrelaio price (lamp oil mainly used in the past decades for central heating) – is satisfied for each member and each person with whom the member has the moral duty to share the quota. At the end of July, the administration board and the representatives of the forestry district share nominal plots of land for logging where, for a month, each member can log according to his powers¹⁴, even if – according to the information we receive from the association πρόεδρος (president) – the limit is 6 tons/member (approximately 6 m³). But transmitting and fragmenting rights creates inequalities again regarding financial benefits, and therefore discontent. This benefit, following the auctioning of wood, is shared among the members after a certain amount is retained for public utility works (especially around forest infrastructure) and after paying the debts. Unequal access to benefits leads to the same discontent (and aggressive behavior) that the establishment of the association should have eliminated. Also, the transmission of rights is unclear for the members. The only certain piece of knowledge in the social reserve is the fact that the right is inherited. From now on, the versions multiply: is the right inherited from the member who had possessed it (possibly by testament) by a sole heir, excepting all the others?! Is only one member registered, the other “heirs” agreeing with his/her registering, this member having the moral duty to share with them any benefit?! Does the right share between all heirs, that meaning a fractionation of it and a rising of the number of members?!, etc. Here, the by-laws provisions could be relevant. The by-laws of the association from Metamorfosi – which we could comparatively utilize them – provide the versions: “legal heir”, “heir chosen by written agreement of all the other heirs”, “legal heirs” (By-laws of the Metamorfosi Forest Association with Imposed Administration in Severalty, Naousa 2003: chap. 3, art. 9, par. 4). For the last version, we deduce that the right (the venture) divides. Both for Koupa, and for Metamorfosi, is certain that the number of members might vary, the number of rights (ventures) keeping concomitently the same.

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

A first comparative attempt targets the general socio-cultural, economic and historical contexts in which the analysis of each collective property like the one in our study is projected. From the perspective of a regional anthropology of the Balkans, we will soon reach the conclusion that within rural communities there are institutions which are responsible for the potential similarities that the researchers may identify in societies belonging to different areas and cultures. Even if Greece and Romania are different from many points of view, especially historical and geographical, on the ground we were able to observe the existence of certain institutions having a correspondent in other local and regional areas.

¹⁴ On the only condition to leave a few trees standing for seeds.

Rural joint property is such an institution, as it may be considered the common denominator of certain communities or rural social units from East and South-East Europe which developed, in certain areas, similar strategies for taking forests into possession. Initial social and economic models of “taking into possession” were undoubtedly “collectivist”. The forest resources, beyond their economical value, within the sphere of free peasantry¹⁵ had a fundamental contribution to ensuring their social continuity. We could take here into account as an instance the Romanian Carpathian border villages, located in areas of regional interference, which due to their geostrategic position and the statute of mountaineers and border guards given to locals by feudal and post-feudal authorities, benefited along the history from a better social status¹⁶ (Marchescu 2006: 31-36).

The specific elements of joint ownership rural property in Romania and Greece are given by the local history, specific geopolitical experiences, cultural reactions developed differently in the Greek rural community compared to the Romanian one with regards to the relationship with the owner or the invader. The Ottoman imperialism above all represented the “secular” enemy which influenced and transformed the Balkan area into an arena of eternal identity search. We especially have in mind a series of community instances coagulated around forest property – groups of proprietors, associations – in other words, those social structures crystallized in relation to property, some with historically synchronized debuts, and others with very different evolutions. But, beyond similarities and differences, both pay tribute to ample political and social events which have influenced the two societies for many centuries.

Greece is a mountain country, poorer in agricultural and forest resources than Romania. But, directly knowing the reality, the “profane” perceptions are dimmed and the labels given at first sight lose ground and are replaced by representations built upon an inductive and more systematic knowledge of reality. The experience on the ground in the continental part of Greece reveals, in a partial and limited manner due to language difficulties, a few cultural and economical aspects with regards to the relationship of certain semi-rural communities with the environment and its resources. Our interest was and is focused on fathoming the social history of forestry associations in the North part of Greece, in order to get better acquainted with the current management models, around criteria for entitling people to rights and benefit obtained as proprietor etc.

Therefore, an important empiric observation is around the manner in which the Greeks capitalize resources in the geographical area named above, different from the way in which we notice things were done in Romania during the last

¹⁵ As apparently was the case of Koupa too. The possibility to change the center (a calculation we were able to make based on the legend mentioned above, in connection to the successive movements of the village center, takes us back 300 years), the options for making scattered groups of households, the parallel existence of individual plots of land when the pastures were purchased from the Turkish administrator (and maybe also the owner), all these lead to the conclusion that, although under Turkish administration, Koupa had never in fact been a serf village.

¹⁶ Having as consequence, among others, an easier access to financial resources.

decades. The good and effective capitalization depends on a cultural view of consumerism based on moderation and temperance, taking into account the reduced potential of nature. If resources are wisely used, they can become the source of other resources. In other words, a place rich in resources is in fact poor if the human factor does not have the necessary “imagination” to think in terms of sustainability, rather than immediate, predatory gain, bringing momentary wealth. Wisdom implies being less rich, but maintaining a welfare for longer time and with minimum cost, without the resource being amassed, but reinvested so as its continuity is not damaged.

In fact, the Greek forest collective property that we observe is in the midst of a secondary, more specific comparative attempt which strictly focuses on this type of property. Here, we can distinguish two comparative levels, an intra-national one and a general Balkan one, the latter being exemplified, for now, by properties of the same nature in Romania¹⁷. In the first stages of the research, we analyzed the links between the individual and his natural environment, as previously mentioned, within the Wallachian community of Koupa, located in the North part of Greece, at the border with F.Y.R.O.M. Nowadays, Koupa is more of an uninhabited area, with a significant population of elderly, the lack of economical and social activities transforming the place into a semi-resort.

The information given by the small number of villagers left in the village, suggest that in the past Koupa used to be a dynamic social unit, semi-nomad shepherding being the main socio-economical activity. In fact, there are statements in Romanian historiography saying that these Romanized populations from the South of Danube, up to the destruction of the capital Moscopole (today Voskopojë, in Albania, Korçë district) at the end of the 18th century, roamed the entire Balkan peninsula having commercial links even with people from Venice. (Cazacu 2012)

The Wallach locality Koupa looks more like a “bedroom” type of village, the place where those who left for neighboring towns (Thessaloniki, Polikastro and Axioupoli, the latter 30 km SE of Koupa) return temporarily for relaxation¹⁸. Unlike other places which have similar properties, forests seems to represent here one of the main economic resources of the community only since recently. At the same time, the deforestation phenomenon is not testified, on the contrary, the forest is the one invading the area during the past decades. In the vicinity of the village, in

¹⁷ We hold materials collected from Albania on similar themes. But these had not yet been processed when this article was conceived. Therefore, it was impossible to use them here with maximum epistemic safety.

¹⁸ The term “bedroom” is more than an appropriate metaphor to describe the living conditions in Koupa, stable only in a few instances. It can be associated with the phenomenon of seasonal residence which also occurs in Romanian regions. Traditionally speaking though, the reason behind temporarily oscillating between the mother village and the destination is mainly economic. The situation in Koupa resembles very much the one in Poiana Sibiului (Romania, the county of Sibiu) today. Both of them, once mother villages, became, especially for young generations, recreational destinations. In Poiana Sibiului, it is interesting to follow-up on the shepherds settled down with the herds and residence in the Plain of Banat, to see if they would return, when old, to the places they had left behind, where their ancestors had always returned after their long and exhausting transhumance travels.

Arhangelos, as well as further away, in Rodhohori and Metamorfosi, arid or not forests spreading around the area have been deforested in some parts and transformed into orchards of cherry and peach trees. For Rodhohori and Metamorfosi, villages of Ponts situated East of Thessaloniki, the forests are administered by an association, whether forests are used in severalty or they are deforested surfaces used nominally. The history of these associative structures administering forest surfaces in joint ownership is more recent and it is somewhat similar to Romanian Transylvania composesorates. First of all, the similarity is given by the origins of property, earned by purchase after a long time of mainly economical but often social vassalage. The differences between Wallach communities compared to Transylvanian ones which have similar associative structures, are the domination agents, their associated ideology, plus the economical and cultural practices derived from their vassalage policies. Also, the times of monopoly and sovereignty of political authorities upon local populations cannot be neglected.

In Koupa, in the year of 1874, the community bought the forest from the Turks¹⁹ for approximately 1500 liras²⁰, the financial contributions of the local being unequal. The same happened in Transylvania in the middle of the 19th century, after the so called liberation of villagers from the feudal oppression, part of former vassal communities buying forests from the landowners, each contributing as much as they could (Istvan 1998). For a while, the forest was capitalized according to calculations based on the proportionality between the initial material contributions of each household, so the benefit of each family was different. For that period in time, we cannot of course talk about early bureaucratic structures, but rather about an informal leadership which made sure that things were going smoothly.

Following profound social and political transformations in the 20th century in Greece – total withdrawal of Ottoman administration, world wars and civil war ending 1949, moments influencing the history of Koupa community too –, we witness the reorganization of the association, a few years after a dramatic episode in the recent Greek history. After confrontations between the communist and democratic armed forces, a conflict which lasted for three years, the latter would eventually win, so Greek has never entered the Soviet Union influence zone.

Once the association appeared, the principle of benefit distribution became an equal one, although among the members there were contradictory opinions to those pleading for equalization of rights. In Koupa, there are currently 149 members, each family unit²¹ having an annual benefit of up to 12 cubic meters of wood. Residence was not a condition for giving this right, as it was inherited generationally. On paper though, in testament documents, there is one single heir. Generally, in Transylvanian localities with a composesorat type tradition, we find

¹⁹ Based on existing data, we are not sure if the land purchased was only under Turkish administration, or if it was in the *property* of a bey or a pasha.

²⁰ Its value in 1912-1913.

²¹ By “family unit” we mean the proper family (nuclear), as well as the extended family, in cases where the rightful heir has the *moral* obligation to share benefits with the other “heirs”.

the same system of entitlements, the origin of which was based on inequality. The difference between the two properties is the current legal manner in which the right is objectified. Therefore, in the situation of Transylvania composesorates, nominal lists dated and created in the middle of the 19th century are strictly respected nowadays.

In the Wallachian locality Koupa, rights and benefits equalized and, formally, only one of the descendants may be an heir, appointed according to the father's wishes. In exchange, the heir is morally forced to share the benefit with the siblings. In this case, we talk about an unwritten rule which balances rights and benefits, this balance being based on a moral reasoning which implied non-discrimination among the members of the domestic group with regards to accessing family resources. This rule, which is not stipulated in any law or legal code, is an unwritten one, part of a customary system based on the decades following the moment when the property was purchased until 1961, when the association in Koupa was established. In fact, we talk about two important reference points mentioned both by those holding key positions within associative structures and by members with no formal authority. The 1920-1930 and 1961 are landmarks for the formal history of collective property, and during the second one (1961) the association was organized based on egalitarian principles, which meant a turning point and a distraction from the custom²² which imposed equitable distribution of resources.

Until the establishment of the association, forest property was capitalized in accordance with what the group of owners – in fact, the entire community – considered as advantageous to Koupa beneficiaries. Pastures were leased to shepherds from all over the region, as the largest part of the land bought from the Turks had zootechnic value. In the inheritance system, the initial, inequality principles were taken into account, but even if there was a sole heir, we presume that in the past the actual benefits were shared equally within the family structure.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, no state authorities interfered with the Koupa community affairs but this began to paradoxically change as Greece became a free country. The state behaved as a shareholder of collectively purchased properties, cashing in 20% of dividends, a situation still valid nowadays.

If today the forest represents the primordial resource, back then forests were a rarity, and locals did not interfere with the natural rhythm with the exception of accessible areas; in places the human factor could not access, the forest resources were growing at will. But after the first forestry law²³ was issued in 1926, and especially as a result of the 1939 law “regarding Forest Associations” (By-laws... *Metamorfosi*, Naousa 2003: chap. 1, art.1, par. 1), as collective property became formalized and, a few decades later, in 1961, the association was established, forest

²² A custom artificially respected, considering tensions occurred in the unequal distribution of benefits (see later in the text the explanations behind what we call “nostalgia of absolute joint ownership”).

²³ Rather referring to state property ceded to *Ponts* and *Micr-asiates*, Greek refugee populations from Turkey following population exchanges between Greece and Turkey during the early '20s of the last century.

resources acquired a different status and growth rhythm. Old plots of land no longer had a pasture value, but instead were left to grow at will.

Between the time when land was purchased from the Turks and the third decade of the past century, when Greece state had a decisive interference in community affairs, by imposing a formally regulated administration formula, more than half a century had passed. This time was sufficient to crystallize an unwritten community law system, containing a series of customs, as identified in the case of joint ownership in Romanian regions. From this point of view though, the difference between Greece and Romania is significant. In the case of the latter, we talk about a secular existence of customary law, especially in the case of hill-mountain area villages lacking agricultural potential and unattractive for those social actors interested in capitalizing resources.

Therefore, free peasants from the Romanian regions where large empires and kingdoms had their geographical borders, did not go through the socio-economic dependency on the Habsburg boyar and or the Hungarian count due to their border guard statute. To have the responsibility of permanently guarding the border was a post of honor during the Middle Ages and beginning of Modernity, marked by wars between empires and kingdoms, and by antagonisms between those with an inborn right to access resources due to their affiliation to a certain social class on one hand, and the oppressed ones, serving the first, on the other hand. In such a social world, the post of honor was more important than the status order, it could not be acquired but was given to the individual at birth, as a result of an imperial, noble or boyar affiliation.

During those historical times, the existence of Romanian free villages – undoubtedly not more than the serf villages – demonstrates that vassalage policies were not unitary throughout the entire Romanian region, these social units being in fact seen by the “rulers” as strategic military interest regions, in many cases. This relieved them of the burden of feudal responsibilities, saving them from a total dependency upon ruling authorities. Therefore, the free communities of border guards, freeholders and yeomen preserved a system of customary law, expressing their capacity to be self-organized and internally governed, not just economically but also from an identity point of view, as structures having their own social will, able to show resistance to the outside world, through cultural, endogamous mechanisms.

FINAL REFLECTIONS FOR A REGIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE BALKANS

The second comparative undertaking, on both its levels, emphasized for the instances compared a contrast between customary aspects and judicial ones in the regulation of property and accessing benefits as a result of collective forest property. Studied made in Romania (Popa 2011: 18, 139-140, 145-146 etc.), as well as in other parts outside the Balkans (for example, Nkwi et al. 2001: 141, 142, related to implementing forest development plans in Cameroon), shapes the idea

that the two aspects must be taken into account together when analyzing these regulations. The customary way makes reference to a joint ownership type of capitalization of forest resources, while the final point of the judicial way takes place in the organization of the association of collective owners as a shareholders association, with the well-known theoretical process of accessing benefits. In principle, joint ownership organization implies equality, while shareholders associations imply inequality. The first one is associated to archaism while the second is linked to modernism. But, as noticed by Henri H. Stahl more than fifty years ago, “there is no archaic village lacking elements of inequality, just as there is no evolved village lacking remains of equality” (Stahl 1959: 10). This causes a tension that modern legal forms cannot solve. The central pole of this tension consists of what we can call a nostalgia of joint ownership as an absolute form, that form of joint ownership – which we hurry to acknowledge as the only true form, all other already having rudiments of formalization – which implies the free and equal use of a common patrimony (ibidem: 15). The nostalgia we talk about is revealed in the case of the Greek communities that we referred to not on the basis of a diachronic study of the universe of social relations present in forest collective property. Their history, less than a century and a half old, can hardly be relevant when talking about the crystallization of an absolute joint ownership tradition. Moreover, this history seems to indicate the crystallization of a tradition to divide goods on unequal grounds, as already seen many times in this paper. Other clues indicate the same idea. Therefore, for Rodhohori, successive divisions of a part of the association territory to be used by associates as individual plots of land, between the ’30s–’50s during the last century, were based on the principle of the best possible equalization of distributed plots. For Koupa, the invoked nostalgia is seen in the access, if not free at least equal, to logging wood for household needs, by annually sharing the working areas mentioned in the socio-historical exposure part of this article²⁴. In the case of dividing financial benefits though, the association in Koupa behaved indeed as a shareholders association, each member proportionally benefiting from the rights owned²⁵. As long as the division was equal (the only period of this sort during the organization of collective forest property in Koupa was the years after the establishment of the association), and the nostalgia of the joint ownership satisfied, there were no tensions at the level of social relations. But the appearance of inequality – both before 1961 and

²⁴ Ethno-psychological considerations support the idea of absolute joint ownership nostalgia more for Greece than for Romania (considerations which could have been inserted in the general comparative study). While in the case of Romania we can still talk about an individualism labeled by David A. Kideckel as *atomist*, a product – in the opinion of the American anthropologist – of a socialist regime which created “people who were of necessity self-centered, distrustful, and apathetic in the very core of their beings” (Kideckel 1993: xiii), Greek individualism implies an instinctive orientation towards the other person. It seems to be an individualism which assumes (not just declares) the values of Orthodoxy at the level of inter-human relations.

²⁵ Reading through the by-laws of the forest association in Metamorfosi, we no longer have any doubt that this is organized as a shareholders association.

nowadays, based on a system of transferring rights regulated by modern legal codes, built on individualist type principles – in the distribution of financial benefits has as a consequence a profound discontent and tensions in community relations. In fact, we are confronted with social behaviors in the moral economy key²⁶ Scott, 1976), which are not receptive to the idea that between joint ownership and capitalization of forest resources in the monetary system, doubled by a regulation of collective property based on modern legal codes, there is incompatibility. Henri H. Stahl noticed this with regards to the communities in Vrancea Country (Romania); both the capitalist system, but especially the Forestry Code in 1910, lead to the disappearance of the last remains of joint egalitarian ownership, although its practice continued in the case of forest²⁷ (Stahl 1958: 147, 163-164). To illustrate the institutional effects of this incompatibility, let us return to the adjective *anangastikos* from the title of the association in Koupa, which we left suspended.

Anangastikos, as explained by the president of the association in Rodhohori, is connected with the impossibility of exiting severalty. This impossibility is suggested by yet another adjective, *αδιαίρετος*, also in the title of the association, translated as “indivisible”. In this case, *anangastikos* has the role of an emphatic adjective, and the name of the association, *Αναγκαστικός Δασικός Σηνεταρισμός Διαχειρήσεως Αδιαίρετου Δάσους Κούπας*, would become – taking into account the translation of our adjective as “forced”, “imposed”, “constrained”, “strained” as mentioned – The Forest Association with Imposed Administration in Severalty of the Koupa Forest. Still, why is there a need for this “imposed”, since there are no clues showing that before 1961 someone would have wanted to “tear” land from the collective property, and the mere “administration in severalty” would have signified the same phenomenon?

Anangastikos is part of a family of words that we believe can be grouped around the noun *ανάγκη*, inherited in the current language from the ancient Greek. From an etymologic²⁸ point of view, we find meanings such as “necessity”, “need”, “poverty”, “misery”, “misfortune”, meanings which are maintained almost unchanged in related terms from other Indo-European languages. For our situation, we are in fact sent to the limited quantity of resources to administer, as if the derived adjective only purpose would have been to remind the phrase in the introduction of each economy course, according to which resources are limited, while the needs of individuals are unlimited. In this context, the “necessity” to administer resources in a form compatible with the above mentioned conviction is imposed. We are repeating, why using an adjectival form which obviously suggests imposition, obligation?

It is clear for us, the association form for administering severalty formally regulated by modern legal and economic principles is an alien type for a mentality

²⁶ An economy that does not aim the individual profit, but such a sharing of resources and benefits that the entire community will survive.

²⁷ What we have also observed in the case of Koupa community.

²⁸ The etymological analysis of this noun was given to us by our colleague and friend Prof. Petru Dincă, a passionate adept of etymologies. We thank him for the kindness he shows every time, responding to our questions.

for which the natural way of administration is, first of all, joint ownership as an absolute form. Under these terms, its application, being anti-natural, can only be forced, constrained, imposed. The use of the adjective *anangastikos* has in fact the purpose to signalize and impose the extinction of joint ownership as an absolute form within the new form of association.

But if joint ownership can be easily extinguished legally, its extinction in the ethno-psychological stock – as suggested – is much harder to do. “The loss” of certain documents²⁹, the lack of nominal papers certifying the rights of a member and his status as a co-proprietor in the association, are easily projectable in the joint ownership ethno-psychological context, as it is a known fact that joint ownership, in its authentic form, is not a bureaucratic form of social organization and access to resources. In the absence of documents, transfer of rights to heirs is incomprehensible to a potential heir guided by modern legislation principles: “I made a complaint at the forestry division: how will I inherit my father (his share)?! (...) I will make complaints to the ministry, then to the European Union for what is happening here. (...) My father, what documents made him an owner?!” To be an owner – in the mind of our interlocutor –, whatever the form of property, implies the existence of a nominal title certifying this quality. In fact, the title represents an additional guarantee for accessing benefits (although it continues to remain just a mechanism among other mechanisms which themselves need to be accomplished in order to access benefits [Ribbot, 1998: 335]). A similar problem occurs in studies made in Romania: to be a proprietor in a collective form of property makes sense only if the attributes of individual property remain functional: the usage right, usufruct and abuse, plus possession (Ștefănuță 2010: 172).³⁰ From here, consequences for a regional anthropology of the Balkans will be connected to a different ontology of the two forms of property. It is a question if it is not the case nowadays that, **empirically** speaking, the term “property” to be maintained only for what we call “individual property”.

As for the “agrarian matter” (Kautsky 1988 [1899]) – an initial discussion which led to the reflections in this article – it is difficult to be approached for the Koupa community. The reader noticed that the word “peasants” for the inhabitants of the Greek village has never been used. Only a few elderly pensioners, beneficiaries of the OGA pension³¹ of minimum 350 Euro, remind us of Koupa peasants. The great

²⁹ Although this “loss” has undoubtedly obvious connections with attempts to have differentiated access to benefits resulted from forest resources.

³⁰ Especially “usufruct rights”, whatever form they may take, seem of great importance. This is seen as logically necessary to any population whose “general perception of the forest might be characterized as utilitarian and even materialistic” (Nkwi et al. 2001: 140). As decision makers are unable to equitably distribute – in the eyes of the local population – the benefit, in Romania and in other parts (we invoked a situation from Cameroon), rural populations do not feel engaged or responsible, from an identity point of view, to implement any projects to develop and protect forests through local participation (*ibidem*: 135).

³¹ The Organization of Agricultural Insurance. This pension is more like a social security. Until recently, it was obtained only on the basis of a declaration according to which the individual activated as a farmer.

migration in the '60s during the last century ended the "peasant" preoccupations. The descendants of the migrators now live and work in small towns from Axios planes or in other towns.³² Today, Koupa is more of a semi-resort for spending holiday and week-ends. It is only the forest surrounding the village in all directions that still carry the memory of the "peasant" times. The forest still brings together the Koupa inhabitants, but it also sets them apart. In the years to come, dissensions might aggravate. It is only now that the forest finally becomes a resource that can be financially capitalized, both in the context of an increased demand for fire wood, and due to the growth and productivity of the trees. What was only a sapling during the '40s, invading pastures and abandoned fields, is today a 70-80 years old brush, which has fully mature chestnut trees, beech trees at their maximum level of annual growth and oak trees that in twenty years time will reach full maturity (Negulescu and Stănescu, 1964: 273, 278, 286). Therefore, trees are capable of offering and meeting the demand for any type of wood. This means high income, income that will increase the inhabitants pride in their little Greek village through public goods built, as well as social tensions between the members of the association, via the perceived inequality of financial benefits distribution.

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³² "Youngsters nowadays have a «good eye»", expression used by the president of the association to characterize the lack of interest from the part of the young generation towards agricultural and forestry work opportunities given by a potential permanent residence in the village.

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“AN ADEQUATE ILLUSTRATION OF THOMAS KUHN’S
THEORY ABOUT THE CHANGING OF PARADIGM IN SCIENCE”
50 YEARS SINCE THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN ROMANIA

(An Interview with Professor Gheorghiță Geană;
Interviewer: Dr. Marin Constantin)

Marin Constantin: Professor, this year (more exactly on the 1st of July, 2014) half a century will be celebrated since the setting up – with the acceptance of the Romanian Academy – of the *Section of socio-demographic and cultural anthropology* within the “Francisc Rainer” Institute of Anthropology (then Centre of Anthropological Research). This foundation act is associated with the name of Vasile V. Caramelea, a sociologist and former disciple of Dimitrie Gusti. Is one entitled to speak of a direct filiation of the Romanian cultural anthropology from the famous Sociological School of Bucharest?

Gheorghiță Geană: Not only does this filiation exist, but it can be detected on *two (complementary) lines*: one of the *human personnel*, the other of the *research spirit*. First of all let us reconstitute, as short as possible, the fact and its circumstances.

As I mentioned on other occasions¹, anthropology developed in Romania during the interwar period of the 20th century as a biomedical discipline, in accordance with the Eurocontinental trend of the time and having the anatomist Francisc Rainer as its central figure. In the same period, a movement of monographic research (internationally known as Sociological School of Bucharest²) flourished under the leadership of Dimitrie Gusti. The two scholars

¹ See: Geană G. 1990. “Cultural Anthropology in Romania”. *EASA Newsletter* 3: 18–19 [EASA = European Association of Social Anthropologists]; Idem. 1997. “Notes on Cultural Anthropology in Romania”. *Ethnologia Balkanica*, 1 (1): 208–214; Idem. 2002. “Anthropology’s Long Journey to Professionalization. Some Problems with Cultural Anthropology in Romania”, in: Skalník P. (ed.), *A Post-Communist Millennium: The Struggles for Sociocultural Anthropology in Central and Eastern Europe*. Prague: Set Out, pp. 99–113.

² For example, in 1935, the young American sociologist Philip Mosely delivered a paper in

cooperated closely: with his team of 5–6 collaborators, Rainer covered the so called “biological framework” within the Gustian monographic scheme; as a matter of fact, under that label, Rainer carried out thorough researches of physical anthropology.

In 1950 the directorship of the Institute of Anthropology belonged to the endocrinologist physician Ștefan Milcu. Francisc Rainer, the founder of the Institute, had passed away in 1944, and in the meantime the totalitarian communist regime had been settled in Romania. As an ex-member of Rainer’s team, Milcu took over the Gustian idea of monograph by focusing the investigations on village communities. However, unlike the earlier sociological monograph, the emphasis was placed on the anthropophysical aspects: cephalic and facial typology, blood groups, dermatoglyphics, etc. Especially, Milcu enlarged the spectrum of researches with social aspects such as demographic parameters (age structure, endogamy–exogamy ratio), family structure, food practices, marriage customs etc., as complementary data for understanding the salient features of biological structure of population under study.

The activity was thriving when, at the beginning of 1964, a leadership crisis occurred: Ștefan Milcu gave up the position of Director at the Centre of Anthropological Research. At that moment, Vasile Caramelea was the Scientific Secretary of the Centre – that is the second person in the scientific hierarchy of the institution. As a professional sociologist (trained at the Gustian school) he realized that *the socio-behavioural data (accepted as complementary by his colleagues of biological profile) could be independently interpreted as data of social and/or cultural anthropology*. Consequently, from the position of Scientific Secretary he made up a reorganization plan of the Centre of Anthropological Research on four sections: *palaeoanthropology*, *contemporary anthropology* (i.e. the study of contemporary populations), *socio-demographic and cultural anthropology*, and *applied anthropology*. In the summer of the same blessed year 1964, the leading staff of the Romanian Academy validated this organizational scheme by an administrative document that counts as a kind of “birth certificate” for the cultural anthropology in Romania.

Now let us come back to the problem of filiation. Humanly speaking, all the personalities involved in our scenario – Francisc Rainer, Ștefan Milcu, Vasile Caramelea – were more or less indebted to Dimitrie Gusti. Among them Caramelea held the position of a direct disciple. At the beginning of my own career (my engagement in the Centre occurred in the Fall of 1967 – very soon after the foundation of the cultural Section), I often stayed around Vasile Caramelea: we attended the same meetings, went together on the field, slept in the same room, engaged ourselves in many conversations... Well, I may say that he was an absolute

Bronislaw Malinowski’s seminar, at London School of Economics, about monographic researches carried out by Gustian teams in the village of Șanț (Northern Transylvania) (cf. Stahl, Henri H. 1981. *Amintiri și gânduri* [Memories and Thoughts]. București: Editura Minerva, pp. 354–355).

admirer of his magister; moreover, it was enough to look at the old photographs with Gusti in order to understand that the ex-student took his former Professor as a model even in clothing and public conduct!...

Obviously, however, more important is the continuity in the research spirit. We must take into account that the term “anthropology” was usually vehiculated within Romanian intellectual circles in a speculative sense and confusingly associated with philosophical anthropology. Or, in the line of the positivistic style imposed by Dimitie Gusti on sociological research, Vasile Caramelea promoted a concept of anthropology firmly anchored in the concrete reality. Correspondingly, he strongly repudiated what he called “books from other books” in the favour of studies based on fieldwork. He used to say: “New theoretical ideas are very few; the true originality is that of facts”.

Another point of Gustian influence is the sociological seal; by applying it to the emergent non-biological anthropology, Caramelea drew the latter closer to the British (social) than to the American (cultural) school of anthropology. Nevertheless, while worldwide anthropology (either social or cultural) was mainly practiced by individual experiences, in Romania the newly introduced discipline was put in act by the agency of teamwork; however, the distinctive characteristic of fieldwork-in-team is just a peculiarity inherited from Gusti’s sociological school.

M. C.: In 1964 the Centre of Anthropological Research was still an institution devoted to physical anthropology – more exactly to the bioanthropological and demographic study of various population groups of Romania. At the same time, between 1948 and 1966, sociology was eliminated from the university curricula under the charge of being a “bourgeois science”. In those circumstances, the adoption of cultural anthropology was in disagreement with the traditional profile of anthropological research in Romania, as well as with the ideology of dialectical and historical materialism... If so, how was the approval of such a step possible?

G. G.: At first glance one could answer: by a miracle! As in modern science the miracle is rather peripheralized, the explanation should also be looked for in a realistic way.

The confrontation with traditional (biological) orientation was a chapter of normal becoming in so far as, within the continental Europe, even since the 20th century physicalism had completely absorbed the meaning of the term “anthropology”. Retrospectively, *the implementation of cultural anthropology in Romania appears as an adequate illustration of Thomas Kuhn’s theory about the changing of paradigm in science*. Vasile Caramelea even managed to produce a kind of revolution in Romanian anthropology. Indeed, the practising of this discipline in our academic milieu will no longer be as it was before 1964. The process was not at all linear. Until the official acceptance of his section, the protagonist had to cope with adversative reactions on the part of his biologist colleagues; “Caramelea – he was told – you

are not an anthropologist, you are a demographer!” Some of his texts submitted for publication were deprived of syntagms in which the attribute “social” or “cultural” appeared in association with the denomination of “anthropology”. Finally, however, the atmosphere improved and the members of the two branches – physical and cultural – developed a fruitful collaboration.

Another obstacle was the ideological dogmatism embodied by the dialectical and historical materialism which served as official philosophy of the political regime. This type of impediment was still difficult because it defied reason itself, thus verging on the absurd. As any idea originated beyond the Iron Curtain (= in the West), social and/or cultural anthropology was apriorically suspected as dangerous. Luckily (if this can be called luck!), the ideological censorship worked differently, depending on the ontological type of facts: explicitly, it was inclement within the domain of social sciences and lenient enough with the interpretation of data within natural exact sciences. Science goes ahead by the agency of humans and the flow of history brings about some lagoons. In these lagoons people may seem themselves forgotten by the world, but they also may convert the disadvantage in advantage: they may benefit from more liberty, keep their moral verticality, work quietly for a further goal, etc. This was the case with the new implemented cultural anthropology: although a social science by its essence, it was institutionally affiliated to the biological department of Academy. And once again the proverb (so attached to Romanian soul) “Nothing so bad in which there is not something of good” proved to be true...

M. C.: How did the Romanian socio-cultural anthropologists of 1960s manage to clarify and affirm their professional identity in the face of other related disciplines like sociology, history, or ethnography?

G. G.: This question follows logically from the previous one! After the “peace” with physical anthropology, a problem of identity remained to be solved by (or in the name of) cultural anthropology: its status in comparison with that of those disciplines which share a similar ontological condition. I have in view, indeed, such disciplines as sociology, history, ethnology, psychology, and a few others. As a matter of fact, each of these sciences has an anthropological insertion. I do not wish to linger upon their differences and specific profiles. Formerly, absorbed in such thoughts, I lived many nights of sleeplessness. As a result of this reflection I wrote a doctoral thesis: *Statutul epistemologic al antropologiei sociale și culturale* [Epistemological Status of Social and Cultural Anthropology] (1977). Psychologically, the process of elaborating my thesis was a sort of *katharsis*; epistemologically, it offered me an adequate placement within the field of knowledge. My personal conclusion to that reflection was that scientific disciplines are *styles of knowledge*, i.e. specific ways of assembling human knowledge in wholes that represent, each of them, the quasi-totality of the world. Obviously, this meant a blurring of the borders between disciplines, as well as the emphasis on a *focal specificity*.

M. C.: In his endeavour to develop new researches, specific to cultural anthropology, Vasile V. Caramelea founded two “pilot stations” for field research, both of them in the district of Argeş – at Berivoeşti and Câmpulung Muscel. What was the function of these research bases? How exactly were they “anthropological” or “interdisciplinary”?

G. G.: The phrase “pilot station” was adopted by Vasile Caramelea to designate the principal *method* to be used in Romanian anthropological researches. In one of my first articles (also published in *Annuaire Roumain d’Anthropologie* and really appreciated by Caramelea) I underlined that a pilot station is not a building (or something similar to a meteorological station), but a whole settlement with its own inhabitants.

The main function of the pilot station was to serve as a kind of *field laboratory* for testing a new instrument or technique of research before being extended to other communities and regions; in this view, at Câmpulung Muscel was applied *en première* the questionnaire (elaborated by Traian Herseni) regarding human adaptation to the industrial work, and in Berivoeşti together with Câmpulung the questionnaire of universal value orientations (elaborated by the American anthropologist of Czech origins Zdenek Salzmänn and brought in our country by Professor Eugene Banks from the Wake Forest University, USA).

In addition, the rural pilot station of Berivoeşti and the urban one of Câmpulung Muscel were used as *didactic field laboratories*. It should be mentioned that, in February 1972 and a few years afterwards, strongly supported by Professor Tudor Bugnariu, Vasile Caramelea delivered a course of lectures in cultural anthropology at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Philosophy; this first presence of the discipline at a University level in Romania marked the height of Caramelea’s scientific career. Related to this, many students carried out their summer practice at the two anthropological pilot stations as an initiation in field research.

Finally, those pilot stations were anthropological simply because any work in their atmosphere was assimilated to the *application of participant observation* – a distinct methodological mark in the identity of cultural anthropology!...

M. C.: After 1989, in Romania, the ideological censorship over the social research – including cultural anthropology – disappeared. How much did Romanian anthropologists make use of the new liberty to express their professional discoveries and ideas?

G. G.: No doubt, the abolition of the ideological censorship came as a blessing. The main effect was that the use of terms related to socio-cultural anthropology escaped from the cone of susceptibility.

Nevertheless, besides the liberty of thought, the abolition of censorship induced over the state of things in anthropology a not-just-favourable open-handedness. In the absence of a thorough anthropological training – and, implicitly,

of an *epistemological consciousness* –, some ethnographers, folklorists, sociologists, or philosophers considered themselves justified to speak in the name of cultural anthropology. Consequently, the discourse about (less the researches of) cultural anthropology proliferated casually, like the “playing by ear”, by ignoring that “focal specificity” previously mentioned. In that context, I drew attention upon the difference between *institutionalization* and *professionalization*; the first is a formal act, the second supposes a process meant to bring about professional competence embodied in real specialists. Related to this I imagined a test of professionalization: shortly, if a person entitled “physicist” does not know anything about Werner Heisenberg or Niels Bohr, then he/she is not a real physicist; *mutatis mutandis*, somebody who has no idea about Franz Boas or Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown has no legitimacy for the scientific community of anthropologists!...

Certainly, institutionalization and professionalization are interconnected. There are several problems still unsolved resulting from the lack of what I have called “epistemological consciousness”. In spite of this, time works favourably. A very important effect of the abolition of censorship was the chance to travel abroad, study at the Western universities, work in international projects, or attend professional international conferences. Especially for young researchers many occasions have occurred to take the pulse of the authentic cultural anthropology even at its sources. I think that the post-1989 generation of Romanian society is similar in its historical mission to the post-1848 one, a generation the representatives of which studied abroad and afterwards came back to their native country for contributing to its modernization. The difference is that, after the communist deviation, the present generation has to *re-connect* Romanian society to the normal course of universal history.

It is to this missionary generation that the young Romanian anthropologists belong. For them – and for all the young people who want to devote their professional future to this discipline – I have this advice: there is a lot of work to do in Romanian anthropology. The tradition of this discipline in Romania deserves to be continued. Great voices of the universal anthropology – Eugène Pittard, Arnold Van Gennep, Ruth Benedict, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Arne Martin Klausen, Margaret Mead, Jean Cuisenier and still others – showed their interest in Romanian culture and behaviour and expressed words of praise about the achievements of anthropology in this country.

As to “Francisc Rainer” Institute, it is the single academic institution in Romania where research forces of high professional competence are concentrated for covering the study of human life integrally, from both biological and cultural perspectives.



Dr. MARIA VLĂDESCU
(1930–2013)

L'automne de l'année 2013 (le 30 octobre) le chercheur dr. Maria Vlădescu, l'une de plus importantes spécialistes au domaine de l'anthropologie, est partie d'entre nous. Elle s'est formée comme chercheur scientifique et surtout comme caractère au Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques de l'Académie Roumaine* conduit par la distinguée professeur Olga Necrasov.

Elle est née le 15 août 1930 dans la commune de Hârtopu Mare, département Orhei, dans la République de Moldavie, où elle a fréquenté l'école primaire et le gymnase. Le vingt-cinq mars 1944 elle s'est réfugié avec sa famille – les parents, les frères et les sœurs – en Roumanie, où ils s'établissent à Pietroasele, département de Vâlcea. Ultérieurement elle déménagera avec sa famille à Stamora Germană, département de Timiș où elle habitera entre 1946–1953. Étant dans une localité de frontière, toute sa famille sera contrainte de changer son domicile au Baragan, où ils auront le domicile forcé pour cinq années (1953–1958). En 1963 elle s'établit, par mariage, à Bucarest, où habitera jusqu'à la fin de sa vie.

Elle finit les études au Lycée Pédagogique de Timișoara en 1950, puis elle fréquente les cours de la Faculté de Biologie de Bucarest entre 1955–1960. Elle remplit la fonction de professeur suppléant entre 1950–1955 et professeur définitif entre 1960–1965, dans l'enseignement de culture générale. Mais elle a désiré mettre en valeur ses connaissances acquises pendant les années d'études à la Faculté, dans un domaine plus spécialisé.

Ce desir sera réalisé par la venue, à la direction du Centre de recherches anthropologiques de l'Académie, du remarquable professeur Olga Necrasov, en

* Depuis 2006 l'Institut de l'Anthropologie « Francisc Rainer ».

1964, lorsqu'on a engagé par examen plusieurs jeunes chercheurs, parmi lesquels Maria Vlădescu. Suite au concours d'admission de 1965, elle prend contact à l'activité anthropologique de terrain, guidée par des chercheurs expérimentés comme Suzana Grințescu-Pop et Theodor Enăchescu. Elle s'instruit et devient expérimentée par l'appui des mêmes mentors, en publiant ensemble une série de travaux du domaine de la typologie et de la constitution humaine.

Au fil des années, elle a diversifié son activité au domaine de l'anthropologie contemporaine en abordant des thèmes comme: unité et diversité bioanthropologique rurale/urbaine avec des incursions dans l'anthropologie des personnes qui font la navette et dans les phénomènes d'adaptabilité humaine dans la société moderne, déterminismes culturels et sociaux des structures anthropologiques, anthropologie constitutionnelle du sport de performance, normes et normalité dans la typologie humaine en perspective ontogénétique, le reflet de l'état de nutrition dans les proportions constitutionnelles du corp, études ergonomiques à référence aux standards anthropométriques, méthodologie à spéciale attention aux modèles mathématiques appartenant à l'analogie statistique multivariée, dynamique de la microévolution ("secular trend") dans les populations roumaines, avec incursions historiques jusqu'au néolithique moyen.

La riche activité scientifique de Maria Vlădescu s'est concrétisée par la rédaction de plus de 150 études (articles, communications, exposés, chapitres de livres, comptes rendus etc.) parmi lesquelles quelques-unes publiées dans les revues de spécialité, surtout dans « Studii și cercetări de antropologie » (Études et recherches d'anthropologie) et « Annuaire roumain d'anthropologie » et d'autres, soutenues aux réunions scientifiques internationales (Bratislava, 1990, Paris 1992, Madrid 1996, Bucarest-Sinaia 1998, à participation internationale). Elle a présenté aussi beaucoup d'autres communications scientifiques aux sessions qui ont eu lieu dans l'Aula Magna de l'Académie Roumaine, au Centre de Recherches anthropologiques, à l'Institut « Victor Babeș », à l'Institut d'Hématologie, à l'Institut d'Ethnographie et Folklore etc. Elle a collaboré aux volumes: *Civilizație tradițională în curbura carpatică nordică* (Civilisation traditionnelle à la courbure de nord des Carpates), Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984, *Antropologia în actualitate și perspectivă* (Anthropologie en actualité et perspective), Editura Antropologică, 1997, *Natura și omul* (La nature et l'homme), Ploiești, 1997, *Secolul XX și provocările antropologice* (Le XX^e siècle et les défis de l'anthropologie), Bucarest – Sinaia, 1998.

Mais la plus importante contribution au développement de l'anthropologie roumaine et non seulement, a été sa participation à la publication de l'Atlas anthropologique. Outre son travail de plusieurs années de collection des matériaux du terrain, elle a considéré que les données doivent être mises en évidence en les publiant en plusieurs volumes. Ainsi, après la parution du premier *Atlas d'Olténie* en 1968, sous l'égide de l'académicien Ștefan Milcu et de Horia Dumitrescu, on a décidé de publier un autre volume intitulé *Atlasul antropologic al Munteniei* (l'Atlas anthropologique de la Munténie), paru en 1999 sans la signature de Maria Vlădescu et Corneliu Vulpe. En 2001, l'Académie roumaine a accordé son prix « C.I. Parhon »

à cet ouvrage. Après ce succès, Maria Vlădescu a continué le travail de recherche avec la même abnégation et dévouement, en réalisant à la fin de 2005 l'édition d'un autre volume au titre *Atlasul antropologic al Transilvaniei* (l'Atlas anthropologique de la Transylvanie), vol. I^{er}. En qualité de collaborateur, elle a participé aussi pendant plusieurs années suivantes à l'élaboration des autres atlas réparties par région, et aussi à la publication de *Atlasul antropologic al României* (l'Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie), volumes I^{er} et II^e, qui obtinrent aussi les prix de l'Académie Roumaine.

La réalisation de ces volumes a été la suite de son activité de longue durée dédiée à la préparation de sa thèse de doctorat *Cercetări antropologice în partea de vest a Munteniei* (Recherches anthropologiques à l'ouest de la Munténie) soutenue à l'Université « Al. I. Cuza » de Iași, en base de laquelle elle a obtenu le titre de docteur en biologie, spécialité anthropologie, en 1978. Coordonnateur scientifique de la candidate au doctorat a été la professeur Olga Necrasov, important homme de science et membre de l'Académie Roumaine.

La soutenue activité scientifique déposée par le chercheur Maria Vlădescu durant 40 années de travail infatigable est très importante pour la connaissance anthropologique de nos populations. Elle a travaillé avec abnégation, passion et dévouement, parcourant toutes les étapes de la hiérarchie scientifique: chercheur stagiaire (1965–1968), chercheur scientifique (1968), chercheur scientifique III^e degré (1985), chercheur scientifique II^e degré (1990), chercheur scientifique I^{er} degré (1992).

Elle a été membre de l'European Anthropological Association, membre de la Commission Nationale d'Anthropologie de l'Académie Roumaine et du Conseil Scientifique du l'Institut d'Anthropologie « Fr. I. Rainer ». Elle a été aussi membre du Comité de rédaction des revues roumaines « Studii și cercetări de antropologie » et « Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie ». Grâce à l'expérience acquise au cours des années, elle a été cooptée en diverses commissions de promotion et coordination de jeunes anthropologues. Parmi les activités soutenues pour le doctorat, qui se sont déroulées à l'Institut d'Anthropologie « Fr. I. Rainer », elle a participé comme membre actif dans de différentes commissions d'admission et de soutenance des examens et référés.

Par toute son activité de recherche, dr. Maria Vlădescu a eu une importante contribution au développement de l'école anthropologique roumaine. La vie, la modestie et la tenacité prouvées à la réalisation des objectifs proposés peuvent être un exemple pour les futures générations d'anthropologues. Elle a été en même temps une très chère amie et une bonne collègue pour nous et elle nous manque. Tous ceux qui l'ont connue et appréciée lui garderont un bon et toujours vivant souvenir.

Cristiana Glavce, Corneliu Vulpe

Adrian Otovescu, *Conservarea identității culturale în mediile de imigranți români din Europa* [Preserving Cultural Identity within the Milieus of Romanian Immigrants in Europe], The Publishing House of Romanian Literature National Museum, *Aula Magna* Collection, Bucharest, 2013, 332 pp.

Review by Vladimir Baboi*

Innovative interpretive viewpoints are also possible on the Romanian contemporary emigration to Western Europe, beyond its extreme mediatization during the recent years, with the “sensationalism” of the mass-media reports, and still beyond the public statements (more or less moderate or, conversely, provocative) of western politicians, in the search for their voters’ support.

Such a scientific approach is what Adrian Otovescu achieves by his research on *Preserving Cultural Identity in the Milieus of Romanian Immigrants in Europe* (as it was published by the Publishing House of Romanian Literature National Museum, in 2013). Two areas of investigation – Italy and England – are chosen from a broader range, which (as outlined in the two opening chapters of the book) would contain more than 30 countries in Europe and over 20 others worldwide – where the Romanian immigration is substantially accounted for. According to the documents and terminology of national and international specialized institutions, the phenomenon under discussion is categorized as a contemporary economic migration. It takes place in virtue of the people’s right to mobility, which, as an issue *per se*, does sustain and even augment the migration rate nowadays.

The first chapter – “Romanian communities abroad” – provides a series of information and statistical data concerning the number of Romanians who started their emigration with the 1950s. A particular emphasis is put on the Romanian diaspora sizing and its global distribution during the 1990-2010 period. Thus (for instance) within a geographic-area hierarchy, almost 7.56 million Romanians are recorded for Europe (as the so-called “European diaspora”). The next two world areas, in accordance with the decreasing order of established Romanian citizens, are North America (1.2 million Romanians), Middle East and North Africa (507,000 Romanians in Israel, Lebanon, Arabian United Emirates, and Libya). The list also includes the rest of Asia (as nearly as 31,000 Romanians), South America (a few more than 27,000 Romanians), Australia (23,000 Romanians), and the rest of Africa (5,800 Romanians) (p. 25).

As already mentioned, A. Otovescu especially works with two samples belonging to the important Romanian diasporas in Italy and England. While 1.2 million Romanians are estimated to live and work in Italy (as it is the country hosting the most important Romanian diaspora in Europe and worldwide, in comparison with 1 million Romanians in the U.S.A.), the membership of Romanian community in England is presumed at about 100,000 (which would make the fourth position of Romanian immigration in Europe, possibly the same in number as that from Greece).

Alongside factology and statistics, A. Otovescu’s study relies on new concepts in the research of migration. For example, *transnational migration* (p. 37) (pointing to the frequency of the immigrants’ interaction with their relatives from home, also benefiting of international transportation facilities), *retromigration* (p. 41) (dealing with a citizen’s return to his/her original home), and *etnomigration* (which, as a subtype of retromigration, would describe – according to some scholars – ethnic migration).

Of a similar interest, another chapter – “Immigration to Europe or the way toward one’s new identity” – is a presentation of the image of international emigration, including statistical data referring to the countries that, within recent years and now on, have been receiving most emigrants. Surprising in appearance (as challenging a prejudice of our society), the gender distribution of

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migration in Romania shows that the number of immigrating women was (for the same period) higher than the men's one. For instance, in 2007, out of the overall number of immigrants, 65.03% were women (p. 69).

In this context, a chapter like "Constitutive factors of national identity and dimension of Romanian identity" is a review of several definitions, opinions, and trends about the notion of *national identity*. Amongst them, the most important and, at any rate, the most examined aspect within the current study is that of tradition – to the extent to which habits or customs of immigrants are perpetuated and maintained by them. From such perspective, the attempts of also shaping the traits of an "European" identity are not yet enough convincingly defined.

Of the "Theoretic and methodological coordinates of analyzing cultural identity", the frame of understanding the concept of *cultural identity* (p. 101) is shown to be one of the well-configured components in the book structure. It could be summarized in the relationship that an individual or a group engages with those elements which make their collective specificity. Such relationship would be characterized by the sense of belongingness to a given culture (in terms of "rituals, clothing symbols, and common traditions") (p. 104), a sense that the communities members use in order to distinguish between *us* and *them* (p. 102).

Cultural identity (in accordance with Peter Adler's referential study "Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Multiculturalism") would encompass typologies of the behavior meant to assure the fulfilment of basic needs and the solving of livelihood problems. Social identity, on the other hand, would take into account an individual's group membership, within two essential hypostases: one's personal and collective identity (p. 104). Following scholars like Marilyn Brewer, A. Otovescu argues on a more pronounced social identity among minority groups (p. 106). Blending the two notions has actually given birth to the concept of *sociocultural identity*, seen as an individual process of (self)identification – based on one's emotions, cognition, representations, attitudes, discourses, and lifestyles similar with the others' ones, values, elements of collective memory, and symbols (p. 106).

In A. Otovescu's study on the Romanians emigrated to Italy and England, many aspects reveal a thorough "radiography" of preserving one's native customs and traditions, as well as of adopting elements of the host-cultures, also including details on his or her profession or education, etc. At the same time, the new information requires further re-evaluation of emigration phenomena. Of the author's conclusions, we might keep in mind examples like the 75 % of Romanian immigrants speaking with their co-nationals in Romanian (p. 173), the Romanians thinking they have been learning the Italians' mentality (15 %), cooking style (10 %), and traditions (5 %) (p. 175). Likewise, 40% of the Romanian who have participated in the study believes that those compatriots they know in Italy have kept their Romanian cultural identity.

In comparison, 59 % of Romanians in England state that they speak their maternal language in family and when meeting other co-nationals (which is a percent smaller than in Italy). Similarly interesting are the answers to the question dealing with the Romanian citizens' efforts to get integrated and become "English" (p. 218). A. Otovescu's data indicate that 21 % of Romanians who emigrated to England maintain their respect towards Romanian traditions (such as painting eggs, adorning Christmas fir trees, singing Christmas carols, etc.) (p. 222), while in Italy the corresponding figure among Romanians is 73 % (p. 173). It is worth mentioning that 40 % of Romanians who were investigated in England, did recognize their lack of such "preoccupations" in Romanian as well. Only 26% of Romanian respondents have talked about attending an English holiday, while 70 % of them have not.

A. Otovescu's research points out a tendency among 56 % of Romanian young people (aged under 25) towards assimilating English culture, which, despite their claim of not having lost Romanian identity, leads them to describing themselves rather as English than as Romanians (p. 222). That is why, in my opinion, the chapter regarding the Romanian immigrants' internalizing and evaluation of their own cross-cultural changes and experiences, is one of the most meaningful of the book, also due to its suggestions for further approaches of emigration.

Beyond some slight issues of data presentation (which is not unitary, as the Romanian communities in Italy and England are not entirely identical, with their common but also distinct

characteristics), I consider the book to be highly necessary – since it apparently fills in a blank or insufficient bibliography of such a theme in Romania. A. Otovescu's *Preserving Cultural Identity in the Milieus of Romanian Immigrants in Europe* provides us with a relevant image – in social as well as cultural points of view – of the dimension of Romanian emigration to Italy and England, which can contribute to detect the current trends in the acculturation of our co-nationals there.

Francis Zimmermann, *Enquête sur la parenté*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1993, 247 pp.

Compte rendu par Marin Constantin

La parenté en tant qu'objet d'étude accompagne pratiquement toute l'histoire de l'anthropologie, vu que Lewis Henry Morgan publia sa synthèse sur les *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* en 1871, c'est-à-dire l'année de l'apparition de *Primitive Culture* par Edward Burnett Tylor, le père fondateur de cette discipline. Cependant, l'étude de Francis Zimmermann sur tel sujet n'est pas tellement une nouvelle contribution empirique pour l'une des plus abondantes bibliographies de notre discipline, que surtout une *histoire* et une *interprétation* des approches si diversifiées (en méthode) et riches (en théorisation) dans la recherche de la parenté.

En observant d'abord que « les relations de parenté sont essentiellement sociales » (du moment que, par exemple, « [...] le mariage des cousins croisés est un échange entre lignées exogames, même si, sur un autre plan, celui de la biologie, le généticien peut mesurer le 'coefficient de consanguinité' entre cousins ») (p.14), l'auteur dirige son enquête sur trois niveaux d'analyse: la filiation, l'alliance et la terminologie des relations parentales.

C'est ainsi que la préoccupation pour le culte des ancêtres et pour la légitimité successorale recommande la filiation comme dimension politico-juridique de la parenté. Et c'est Edward E. Evans-Pritchard qui fournit l'exemple classique à cet égard, lorsqu'il interpréta (1940) le lignage agnatique comme le « *cadre conceptuel du système politique* » chez les Nuer. La filiation cognatique, à son tour, relève un important principe d'organisation économique, permettant (comme en Polynésie, cf. Ward Goodenough, 1955) une répartition équitable des terrains et un meilleur contrôle des fluctuations démographiques. On peut retenir, dans le contexte, l'observation de Marshall Sahlins (1961) en ce qui concerne « *l'idéologie de la filiation* », en soutenant que « [...] *Les règles de filiation ne sont pas le simple reflet de la composition des groupes, elles se surimposent à eux.* ».

La variabilité des échanges matrimoniaux (comme dans le cas de « moitiés » patrilinéaires et matrilinéaires australiennes, analysées par Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1949) suit la règle (saisie par A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1930) du mariage prescrit seulement avec la fille du frère de la mère: par une « *alternance des générations* », l'écrit Zimmermann (p. 79), le grand-fils de l'égo revient à la section de son grand-père. Ainsi (comme le souligna Louis Dumont, 1953), se réalisent à la fois la transmission du mariage et du lignage, le mariage y jouant un rôle de transaction, comme en Inde du Sud, entre les lignages patrilinéaires et patrilocaux, d'un côté, et celles matrilinéaires et patrilocaux, d'un autre. Quant à la préférence maritale pour la cousine patrilatérale (signalée par Fredrik Barth en Kurdistan, 1954), celle-ci assure au père de la fille la soumission politique de la part de son neveu / gendre).

Lewis H. Morgan avait considéré le système classificatoire des Iroquois (voire l'assimilation de la ligne directe de parenté avec celle collatérale) d'avoir été antérieur par rapport à celui descriptif. Pourtant, Alfred Kroeber allait constater (1909) que « les termes de parenté reflètent la psychologie, non pas la sociologie » et qu'on doit faire la distinction entre des « catégories de relations parentales » à savoir: la différence entre les générations, entre la parenté linéaire et celle collatérale, la différence d'âge dans le cadre de la même génération, le genre de la parenté, le genre du sujet, la distinction entre les parentes consanguins et celles par alliance, et la situation de vie de la personne impliquée par la parenté. À son tour, Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown tient compte (1940) de trois types de relations diadiques (de filiation, entre les frères, et d'alliance) autour de la famille nucléaire, activée (selon

Fred Eggan, 1937) par le respect, la plaisanterie, la familiarité, et l'évitement. Selon Zimmermann, telle « *tétrade* » sert de « *matrice* » pour la parenté classificatoire. La complexité des relations parentales et de la terminologie afférente définit la parenté en tant que « système conceptuel inscrit dans l'inconscient » (cf. H.W. Scheffler et F.G. Lounsbury, 1971).

Un autre chapitre de l'ouvrage de Zimmermann examine la parenté de la perspective institutionnelle de la Maison (en qualité de groupe généalogique) et de la Dot. Après avoir mis en évidence le caractère bilatéral de la parenté en Europe (en développant les recherches de John D. Freeman en Borneo, 1961, de même que celles de Louis Dumont en Inde), l'auteur démontre l'importance matrimoniale et héréditaire de la Maison chez les Amérindiens Kwakiutl et chez les Indiens Nayar (cf. Franz Boas, 1920, et, respectivement, Thomas R. Trautmann, 1981). En fait, après les précisions d'ordre ethno-juridique, une distinction apparaît entre la Maison et la Parentèle, comme système cognatique, bilatéral de la parenté, à l'égard des droits d'héritage des frères. L'imposition du système dotal en Occident (au XIII^e siècle) par rapport au prix de la mariée (spécifique aux sociétés tribales) représenterait (selon Zimmermann, p. 165) un « *triomphe de la bilatéralité* » en Europe.

Les rapports complexes et toujours disputés d'entre « La Nature et la Loi » sont analysés par Zimmermann en ce qui concerne la constitution du modèle matrimonial de l'Église (cf. Jack Goody, 1983), un modèle rival pour ceux patrimoniaux de la Maison et de la Parentèle: l'exogamie rigoureuse (jusqu'au septième degré de consanguinité et d'affinité), le consentement moral des époux, le parrainage (qui se substitue à l'adoption antique) – conduisent à l'importance sociale, « *fonctionnelle* », non pas « consanguine », de la parenté. À partir de l'observation de David Schneider (1968) sur le « *biologisme* » de la conception euro-américaine de la parenté, Zimmermann évoque des situations dans lesquelles la filiation peut être considérée en tant que système symbolique, non pas biologique (selon Maurice Godelier, 1982, en Nouvelle Guinée la conception sur la reproduction implique aussi la homosexualité, alors qu'aux Îles Trobriand – cf. Bronislaw Malinowski, 1929 – la sexualité et filiation sont définies distinctivement, du moment que l'épouse reçoit des dons « conjugaux » de la part de son frère, tandis que la filiation est matrilinéaire).

Érudite et méthodique, l'étude de Francis Zimmermann a le mérite de mettre en lumière le caractère profondément social et culturel de la parenté – une conclusion apparemment surprenante pour un phénomène « *fondé par les réalités biologique de la procréation* » (p. 12). La filiation, l'alliance matrimoniale, la terminologie parentale, les règles de résidence et de succession – toutes ces choses si différentes d'une culture à l'autre (et « *légitimes* », en même temps) composent le système symbolique de la parenté, un système qui peut continuer mais également prescrire – le fait biologique.

Simion Mehedinți, *Antropogeografia*, [Anthropogeography, for the sixth secondary grade], Vth edition by Costică Neagu, Terra Publishing House, Focșani, 2007, 312 pp.

Review by Marin Constantin

The volume is the fifth edition of a school handbook published by the Romanian geographer Simion Mehedinți (1868-1962) for the first time in 1937, with the title *Geografia umană și politică, pentru clasa a VI-a secundară* [Human and political geography: a handbook for the sixth secondary grade]; three further editions were issued in 1938, 1941, and 1942, as entitled *Antropogeografia* (Anthropogeography). According to the editor Costică Neagu, *Antropogeografia* may be placed among the so-called “didactic books”, which, alongside many other works (79 in number!) such as *România* (1909), *Altă creștere. Școala muncii* (1919), and *Coordonate etnografice: civilizația și cultura* (1928) are evocative for Mehedinți's “pedagogical vocation” and enduring efforts to develop a Romanian geographical school (pp. XX-XXXIII).

In the “Introductory study” written by Professor Gheorghiță Geană (pp. IX-XIX), *anthropogeography* is related to the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904), who, in 1882, coined the term for

that part of geography in which the study of humans is also included. In Mehedinți's view (1938), anthropogeography was defined as "the geographic branch of researching the links between mankind and earth". While anthropogeography has remained a German intellectual tradition, in France the same area of investigation (as associated with the scholar Pierre Vidal de la Blache) became known as *géographie humaine*. Is anthropogeography still relevant for the contemporary scientific debates? The notion has indeed disappeared from the current vocabulary of both anthropology and geography, and yet it is argued (by Professor Geană, p. XVIII) to have survived as a "matrix" for disciplines like ecology, geopolitics, and ethnography.

In the foreword written for the 1942 edition (and maintained as such within the current one edition, pp. 4-5), Mehedinți emphasizes the lore of anthropogeography and ethnography in the following terms: "the value of a country is the same as the value of its inhabitants' work and endeavor to keep themselves attached to their ancestral land".

The first chapter ("Anthropogeography", pp. 7-94) is a general presentation of the complex relationships that humans engage with their environment – as broadly seen as an "addition of all geographic contexts" and described "to wrap up humans like a coat" (p. 23). In fact, Mehedinți's text constantly resorts to comparisons and metaphors that mirror the humans' deep belonging to the ecosystems they live in: "Romanian vineyards encircle the Carpathians like a belt" (p. 46), "Phoenicians went out of Tyre like the bees from their hives" (p. 55), "Natives in equatorial forests are shy and isolate like owls" (p. 70), etc. Beyond such literary effects, Simion Mehedinți's approach is carefully led with the geographer's lens pointing to the "schools of education" that mountains, plains, woods, seas, and oceans have been representing for humans throughout their history (pp. 12, 38). Mountain houses scattered in accordance with their water sources (p. 29), island isolation allowing for linguistic conservatism in countries like Ireland or Iceland (p. 62), caravan routes in desert (p. 74), etc. – are not only scholarly examples of human adaptability, but also cases of a sort of "environmental pedagogy" that, after all, accounts for the cultural history. When Mehedinți speaks of the "political axis" of Rhine between Germany and France, as well as the Romanian "natural" boundaries from between the rivers of Dniester and Tisza (p. 31), or the Mediterranean Sea as a *mare nostrum* depending on the "Italian peninsular outpost for political and commercial expansion" (p. 58), he actually outlines the ecological bases of human development and, equally relevant, the man's imprint over environment (entailing sometimes even human population extinction, with the European expansion worldwide, p. 88).

Another chapter – "Ethnography and political geography" (pp. 95-310) – deals with what Simion Mehedinți had previously (1928) conceptualized as the "ethnographic coordinates" of "civilization" and "culture". The Romanian geographer highlights here the role of tools in having turned the man into a "super-animal", as well as the non-linear character of tool-making development among human communities (pp. 98, 105). In an attempt of theorizing the general traits of such a process, Mehedinți comes (p. 110) to define *civilization* as "the summation of technical inventions (crafts and tools) through which the man has managed to adapt himself to his geographic milieu, as well as the organic temper he has achieved during his adaptation work". In this respect, major aspects are food attainment (by gathering, hunting, herding, agriculture, and gardening), clothing, housing, and transport. While clearly denying evolutionism in terms like "the false trilogy of hunting, herding, and agriculture" (p. 130) and the cultural discontinuities in "the passage of ethnographic 'time'" (p. 215), Mehedinți's phrase usually recognises technological progress in so far as "agriculture is a more civilized means of obtaining food than gathering and hunting" (p. 125) and "animal taming freed women and slaves from plowing, as well as motors will 'free' cattle, too" (p. 140). The gender division of labour is often referred to, as particularly significant for Mehedinți's vision on civilization as an environmental adaptation, with men's prominence in activities like hunting and pastoralism (116-120, 136), but also with women's contribution to agriculture (121) and crafts like pottery (157) and weaving (p. 165). All these historical innovations and changes are continuously seen in their anthropogeographic dimension, that is, within their ethnographic contextualization. Herding, for instance, is localized with its "most favourable" areas from within the "Eurasia", along of the steppes from between the Black Sea and Yellow Sea (p. 135), while irrigation – or the "humanizing of rivers" –,

with its importance for the agriculture works, is mapped across a vast intercontinental panorama comprising ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, and pre-Columbian Mexico and Peru (pp. 145-146). In their turn, clothing and housing are cross-culturally examined, with examples like the Tibetan sheepskins, Bedouin mantles, Roman tunics, etc., as well as the Tasmanian tree-hollow “homes”, Sudanese wooden-and-clay roofed hovels, Eskimo snow-wall *igloos*, etc. (pp. 178-188). Within the above-mentioned comparative description, the Romanian folk civilization is present with its patterns of herding (transhumance, p. 73), clothing (*suman*, *sarica*, *marama*, *fota*, pp. 174-175), and housing (Carpathian wooden houses, clay-made houses in the Wallachian plain, etc.), which, when interpreted on the whole of Mehedinți’s discussion, provide elements of regional representation for his broader and variable human geography. Transportation techniques are similarly depicted in their cultural, regional, and historical diversity, from animal traction (cattle-dragged sledges in ancient Egypt, horse-driven chariots in the Trojan war, dog-dragged sledges in Kamchatka, etc.) and transport on water (Polynesian log canoes, Eskimo kayaks, Dacian *ciobac* monoxyle, etc.), to modern cars and planes of the Frenchmen crossing the Sahara desert (pp. 198-212). Among the conclusions that Mehedinți draws from his excursus on the tool-making experience is that “civilization has to be assessed as based not only on the number and type of a people’s tools [with pottery, the weaving loom, and the wheel as landmark discoveries, pp. 217-222], but also on the results it has reached in working with such tools” (p. 216).

The inventory of techniques and artifacts that establish civilization is followed, in Mehedinți’s anthropogeographical demonstration, by the assessment of various consequences – “physiological”, “physico-psychical”, and “social” – that the human adaptation to environment implies. By “physiology”, in the interwar scientific terminology, the Romanian geographer refers to the human “races”, which he firstly explains in relation to skin pigmentation (“depending on the sun rays”, p. 225); next it is the historical ancientness and geographic distribution that distinguish the black race in Africa, the yellow race from Eastern Asia to Findland and Madagascar, and the white race occupying (in times of the Ancient World) the area from between the Scandinavian Peninsula, the Atlas Mountains, and the Bay of Bengal (pp. 233-4); temperament is another differential racial trait given the “blacks’ vivacity”, the “mongoloids’ serenity” and the “whites’ abstraction capacity” (pp. 236-7). Likewise, the “physico-psychical” adaptive mark – the language – is associated to human ecology: mountainous Norway and islander Polynesia are both reflected into their mountain- and sea-referring vocabularies, respectively (p. 242). As to the “social” dimension of environmental adaptation, it is detected within phenomena like the politicization of geographic extremities of Earth (Canadian and Russian presence around the North Pole; English and French expansion to Antarctica) (p. 251) and the demographic variability (the constancy of population density in India and China; the accelerated population growth in Europe with the industrial revolution, pp. 255-6).

Tool-making together with the physiological, physico-psychical, and social adaptation to environment are further mirrored into the differences between the human settlements, mainly the villages (“dependent upon their lands”) and the towns (“dependent upon trade and roads”) (p. 262). On such bases of political geography, the state organization is defined as “a people’s ownership of its ancestral land” (p. 270) and “the coat which a mature nation wears [...] according to its own laws” (p. 282). In Simion Mehedinți’s anthropogeographical view, the Romanian state’s autarky benefits from its black earth (chernozem), yellow clay (loess), mineral resources of salt, naphtha, coal, gold, and silver, alongside cereals, cattle, and industrial commodities (p. 271).

While civilization consists (after all) in the “material technologies” that (in terms of gathering, hunting, herding, agriculture, gardening, clothing, housing, and transport) assure the human progress within particular ecosystems, another “type” of “technology” – culture – is enounced by Mehedinți as “the summation of all intellectual creations by means of which the humans come to harmonize their physical and psychical universe” (p. 289). The Romanian geographer speaks of several cultural “creations” – religion, science, ethics, and arts –, each of them as a specific man’s relationship with one abstract principle, namely “eternity”, “truth”, “justice”, and “beauty”, respectively (pp. 292, 295, 308).

Was there any wider, interdisciplinary, acknowledgement of anthropogeography in the Romanian intellectual traditions of the 1930s and 1940s? Simion Mehedinți’s manual of anthropogeography may

be indeed correlated with the course of lecture in ethnography which he delivered at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, University of Bucharest, in 1921-1936. Within the research agenda of the Romanian interwar school of rural sociology, as a study of what (according to Dimitrie Gusti) was claimed to represent “the cosmological frame” of “social reality”, important anthropogeographical work was also conducted by one of Mehedinți’s disciple Ion Conea (1902-1974) and materialized into the monographic study of Clopotiva village (Hațeg County, Southwestern Transylvania), in 1940. Another national contribution to human geography synchronic with Simion Mehedinți’s book, is the “ethnographic and anthropogeographic study” that Romulus Vuia (1887-1963) published in 1945, with regard to the Romanian villages from Transylvania and Banat and their relationships with “external factors” like altitude, topography, soil, climate, water courses, etc. It is such affinity with disciplines of local or regional resonance (ethnography, sociology) as well as with a broader cross-cultural perspective (comparative ethnology) that definitely maintains anthropogeography as one of the founding paradigms of what was already developing (through the paternity of another scholar of an early geographic specialization, Franz Boas [1858-1942]) as *cultural anthropology*. And, as a (simple?) coincidence, before embracing anthropology, Boas had studied geography with Friedrich Ratzel at Leipzig as Simion Mehedinți will do a few years later! (see G. Geană, “Ideas of Culture: Romanian Para-anthropologists in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”, in: *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 35 [I]: 23-40).

Vasile Șoimaru, *Românii din jurul României. Monografie etnofotografică* [Romanians from around Romania. An Ethnophotographic Monograph], Serebia Publishing House, Chisinau, and Magic Print Publishing House, Onești, 2014, 376 pp.

Review by Marin Constantin

Vasile Șoimaru (born on April 30, 1949, in Cornova, the Republic of Moldova) is basically a lecturer in economics (PhD in 1978) at the Academy of Economic Studies in Chisinau, the Republic of Moldova; another author’s specialization (particularly represented through the book under discussion) is that of writer and photographer. On March 27, 2008, on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Moldova’s unification with Romania, V. Șoimaru published a first version of his current major work, with the title *Românii din jurul României în imagini* [Romanians from around Romania in Images], as a result of the author’s travels along of “over 100,000 kilometers” in ten Southeastern European countries. This time, according to his own account (p. 22), V. Șoimaru’s book draws on “about one quarter of one million kilometers” he counted during “almost 12 years” across the “Romanianess from beyond Romania’s present borderline”, which is recorded within the “1,000 images” making up his today’s “ethnophotographic monograph”.

In her foreword, Professor Zamfira Mihail remarks that *Romanians from around Romania* was preceded by the three volumes that Tache Papahagi had published – in 1928, 1930, and 1934 – as *Images d’ethnographie roumaine* – actually, a landmark of Romanian interwar ethnography. As to the starting point of V. Șoimaru’s own project, it is associated with his “need of a complete knowledge of what the Romanian soul would mean beyond the contemporary borders of Romania”; within such enterprise, the Romanian language is argued to have been “an element of control, [as] a people’s identity mark”. The crucial question *Vorbiți românește?* (Can you speak Romanian?) is indeed described as “miraculous” in V. Șoimaru’s photo-travelogue approach of Romanian communities that – like a “nimbus” or a “garland” – live around Romania (Z. Mihail, pp. 5-8).

Following V. Șoimaru, as “a pilgrim through the Romanianess” (in Vlad Pohilă’s words), is to acknowledge Nicolae Iorga’s sentence according to which “Romania is surrounded by Romanians”. As a matter of fact, such “pilgrimage” is an attempt to encompass the Romanian geography and history as well. V. Șoimaru’s itineraries, therefore, are not only “ethno-photographic”: from his native Moldovan

co-villagers – in Cornova, the Orhei County – to the *Moldovans* in Northern Bukovina, Transnistria, Southern Bessarabia, and Northern Caucasus, the *Aromanians* in Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and Macedonia, the *Vlachs* in Bulgaria, Serbia, the Czech Republic, and Poland, the *Istro-Romanians* in Croatia, the Romanians in Hungary, the *Bolohovenians* in the Polish Galicia and Pokutia, in the now-Ukrainian Transcarpathia, and in Podolia (also in Ukraine), between co-national and foreign friendship and reticence – the author's clockwise journey across transborder Romanians is continuously lived (according to V. Pohlă) as an ethno-psychological endeavor. Patriotism is stated as the *primum movens* of this project and its "primordial" ethos (V. Pohlă, pp. 9-11).

How does V. Șoimaru represent his travelling experience? Starting from a personal quest – "I have always had the curiosity to know my [ethnic] brothers [...]" (p. 12) –, the author highlights his classical references: "I have been guided by the works of five great researchers of Romanians from the four cardinal winds: Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu¹, Teodor Burada², Mihai Eminescu³, Nicolae Iorga⁴, and Anton Golopenția⁵ [...]" (p. 13). While synthesizing his Moldovan citizenship and his Romanian national identity, V. Șoimaru's memories constantly narrate and hypostasize his own sense of *Romanianness*, as an ethno-cultural consciousness stemming from, and revealed by, the very encounters he had "in the field": "Aunt Vasilița (aged of 79) from Moldovanskoe, Krasnodar, confided she sang *Hora Unirii* [Romanian round dance, as celebrating the 1859 unification of Moldova and Wallachia] in 2009, after 65 years [of censorship]". "Thousands of Romanian soldiers lie buried in the Kuban soil, and no Romanian official does anything to retrieve the Romanian dignity" (p. 14). "If comparing Romanianness of the two Romanian capitals – Chisinau and Bucharest –, then Chisinau should be recognized as the authentic capital." (p. 15) "In Ukraine from beyond the Dniester and Bug, Anton Golopenția's research team discovered thousands of non-Russified villages, inhabited by hundreds of thousands of Romanians who, after World War II, will be Russified; nowadays, in the independent Ukraine, these Romanians are massively Ukrainized, and very rarely a Romanian can still speak his/her ancestors' language." (p. 21).

The book includes 12 chapters covering as many distinct areas of the Romanians from around Romania, one chapter dedicated to the "The newest Romanians from abroad, namely those from the Caucasus foothills to the Rocky Mountains" (pp. 304-311), and a last chapter concerning "Romanian vestiges worldwide: Turkey, Italy, Austria, Baltic Countries, Kazakhstan, and Canada" (pp. 312-339). As for the main 12 chapters, they deal with "(I) The historical Maramureș [Transcarpathia]" (pp. 24-57), "(II) North Bukovina and Hertza Region" (pp. 58-111), "(III) Bessarabia" (pp. 112-151), "(IV) Transnistria" (pp. 152-165), "(V) New Serbia and Slavo-Serbia [in Ukraine], Crimea, and North Caucasus" (pp. 166-191), "(VI) Quadrilateral and the Bulgarian Valley of Timok River" (pp. 192-205), "(VII) The [Serbian] Valley of Timok River and the Serbian Banat" (pp. 206-217), "(VIII) Aromanians [in Greece, Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria]" (pp. 218-253), "(IX) Istro-Romanians [in Croatia and Slovenia]" (pp. 254-265), "(X) Romanians in Hungary" (pp. 266-271), "(XI)

¹ Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, *Pe unde sunt și pe unde au fost românii* [Where Romanians were and are], Wartha Calendar, 1867.

² Teodor Burada, *Puncte extreme ale spațiului etnic românesc* [Extremities of Romanian ethnic territory], Vestala Publisher, Bucharest, 2003.

³ Mihai Eminescu, *Românii din afara granițelor țării și unitatea spirituală națională* [Romanians from the outside Romania and their national and spiritual unity], Saeculum I.O. Publisher, Bucharest, 2000.

⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Basarabia* [Romanian people in Bessarabia], Semne Publisher, Bucharest, 2006; Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Bucovina* [Romanian people in Bukovina], Semne Publisher, Bucharest, 2006; Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Ardeal și Țara Ungurească la 1906* [Romanian people in Transylvania and Hungary in 1906], Saeculum I.O. Publisher, Bucharest, 2005.

⁵ Anton Golopenția, *Românii de la est de Bug* [Romanians from eastern Bug], Vol. I-II, Enciclopedica Publisher, Bucharest, 2006.

Slavicized Vlachs in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland” (pp. 272-293), and “(XII) Bolohovenian traces in the Polish Galicia and Pokutsia, and in Podolia [in Ukraine]” (pp. 294-303).

Within the limits of my book review, it is only possible to “pick and choose” some of what V. Şoimaru himself has selected to best visualize Romanians *extra muros*. Needless to argue that my own choice, in this case, cannot be otherwise but incomplete and inequitable; by admitting such risk, I hope that the examples below could convince the reader to make – much more comprehensively, indeed – his own inventory of the book pictures. Let me now just transiently evoke the wooden church “St. Nicholas” of Apşa de Mijloc (dated 1428) (p. 24), the wooden watermill in Apşița village (p. 35), the herding in Slatina village (p. 39), etc. (Transcarpathia), “Mihai Eminescu” Monument in Cernăuți (p. 63), “Ion Neculce” Monument in Boian (p. 72), Monuments of Romanian soldiers in Zveniadin and Valea Cosmin (pp. 83, 87), *Malanca* winter ceremonial in Crasna Bukovina (p. 92) (North Bukovina and Hertza Region), “Stephen the Great’s Oak Tree” in Cobâlnea village (p. 120), “Mihai Eminescu” Monument in Chisinau (p. 126), “Last historical household of a *răzeș* [Middle-Ages free peasant]” in Bursuceni village (p. 130), Căpriană Monastery (p. 132), a woman’s wooden weaving loom in Sărata village (p. 142), Cetatea Albă / Bihorod Dnistrovski (p. 150) (Bessarabia), the traditional peasant house in Caragaș village (p. 154), “Lucian Blaga” College in Tiraspol (p. 156), the church ruins in Perișoare village (p. 163) (Transnistria), the traditional peasant house in Gruzskoie (p. 174), the Slavo-Serbian plain near Frunze village, the vestiges of Mangop citadel (p. 184), Moldovan villagers in the Caucasian villages of Moldovanskoie, Moldovanovka, Moldovka, etc. (p. 186), the wooden cross remembering Romanian soldiers’ sacrifice in the Don Bend battle, November 19-24, 1942 (p. 190) (New Serbia and Slavo-Serbia [in Ukraine], Crimea, and North Caucasus), a view of Baltchik (p. 194), the remains of Romanian school in Turtucaia town (p. 200), the Monuments of Romanian 1877-1878 heroes in Grivitsa and Smârdan (Quadrilateral and the Bulgarian Valley of Timok River), the Romanian folk dance in Jâtcovitsa village (p. 209), “Mihai Eminescu” Monument in Uzdin town, Romanian church in Torac town (p. 217) (The [Serbian] Valley of Timok River and the Serbian Banat), the views of Aminciul town (p. 220), Avdela village (p. 224), Samarina village (p. 230), Moscopole Monastery (p. 234), Kruschevo town (p. 244), Peshtera town (p. 251), Aromanian folk festivals in Moscopole (p. 234) and in the Punikva Mountains (p. 248) (Greece, Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria), the “Zvontchiar” folk ceremonial in Jeiani town (p. 259), a folk fair in Utchika town (p. 262), Istro-Romanian cemetery in Cicearija village (p. 264) (Croatia and Slovenia), “Nicolae Bălcescu” Romanian College in Gyula town (p. 269), the Romanian village centre in Micherechi (p. 271) (Hungary), the Vlach folk costumes in Moravia (p. 274), Romanian nuns at the Vilemov Orthodox Monastery (p. 276), the Vlach open-air museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm (p. 279), Vlach / Goral villages of Dolny Kubin and Lendak (p. 281), the Vlach / Goral sheepfold in Istebna-Koniakow-Jaworzynka (p. 291) (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland), the Moldovan Orthodox church in Lvov (p. 298), Bolohovenian cave monastery in Bacota (p. 302) (Galicia, Pokutsia, and Podolia), etc.

What conclusions can be drawn, after all, from V. Şoimaru’s ethno-monograph in images? It has been said that he would have “tracked the Romanians in the world as if visiting the Holy Land places”, as a sort of mission “to share with all Romanians their identity geography” (Lidia Kulikovski, pp. 340-341). In fact, this book – even if mapping *Romanianness*, as its visual “theme” – has now definitely become a part of the world iconography, since (according to Andrei Vartic, p. 343): “To take a photo today, in either German, English, or Romanian manner, means to be a world’s citizen.” *Romanians from around Romania* implicitly exhibits various geographic and ethnographic areas – broadly localized in Southeastern and East-Central Europe. Paradoxically, the view involved in the volume is rather cross-cultural, than ethnocentric. When one of the book’s reviewers (Nicolae Dabija, pp. 344-345) calls the reader’s attention that “Romanians from around Romania did not emigrate from Romania, but they were born in their native places, which always belonged to them and their ancestors” – his notice is essentially (despite some cases of migration and exchange of population⁶) about ethnic rootedness and permanence (in its historical meaning, “permanence” is another term of Nicolae Iorga⁷).

⁶ Vlach presence in Northwestern Bulgaria is to an important extent related to the Romanian nineteenth-century migration from Southeastern Wallachia (as associated to the fiscal regime in the

Obviously, Vasile Șoimaru's book is a window toward the further interpretations of the ethno-cultural identity and belonging in contemporary Europe. Unfortunately, there is a lack of statistical data regarding the current situation of this consistent Romanian or Latinophone "archipelago" in East-Central and Southeastern Europe. Nevertheless, in spite of this drawback, the actual data validate Mihai Eminescu's assertion: "Romanians are everywhere autochthonous, not colonists..." (1876), which is one of Șoimaru's axioms in pursuing his "initiativ travel to provide a geo-ethnic memory [...]" (Th. Codreanu, p. 351)⁸. And, since the Department of Romanians from Everywhere will probably "prioritize", among its so legitimate programs, the initiative of providing an approximation (at least) of the number of such "neighboring" Romanians, Vasile Șoimaru's "ethno-photography" is already referential for the design of a next assessment (demographic, social, and cultural, this time) of cross-border Romanianness.

Romanian Principalities) (V. Vaseva, "Vlachs". In Anna Krasteva (ed.), *Communities and Identities in Bulgaria*, Longo Ravenna: Editore Ravenna, 1999, pp. 315-329). For the Romanian interwar politics of colonizing of, and entitling with land ownership, about 6,000 Aromanian families in Dobroudja, as well as regards the exchange of Romanian and Bulgarian groups of population in Northern and Southern Dobroudja, after the Craiova Treaty (1940), see V. Nicoară, *Dobrogea: spațiu geografic multicultural* [Dobroudja: a multicultural geographic space], Constanța: Muntenia Publisher, 2005.

⁷ Nicolae Iorga, "Permanențele istoriei [Permanencies of history]". In N. Iorga, *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice*, third edition, Bucharest, 1944, pp. 237-255.

⁸ Stelian Țurlea's estimation (see *Romanians from around Romania*, p. 353) is only general, even though it might partly be referred to present census results across East-Central and Southeastern Europe (with the caution for either the accuracy of ethno-linguistic and confessional data of censuses, or the variability of not only civic, but also ethnic self-identification among *Romanians*, *Moldovans*, *Aromanians*, *Vlachs*, *Bolohovenians*, etc.) According to S. Țurlea's assumption, "Romanianness" would include 3,300,000 people in Bessarabia, 459,300 in Ukraine, 800,000 in the Valley of Timok, 38,000 in the Serbian Banat, 400,000 in Greece, 130,000 in Bulgaria, 500,000 in Macedonia, 20,000 in Hungary, 40,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 15,000 in Albania, etc.